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Ancient Tamil Literature and the Study of Ancient Indian Education

XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM

The contribution that Comparative Education bids fair to make towards the promotion of international understanding and fellowship in this latter half of the twentieth century is similar to the contribution made by Comparative Philology, Comparative Law, Comparative Religion and Comparative Literature in the last two centuries. There is already the promise of educational Bryces and Montesquieus classifying and analysing educational institutions of the Western World, but Comparative Education opens up yet wider horizons, and these include the evaluation of the ideals, aims and values of educational systems and thought in the ancient world as a whole, and not merely in the sector represented by Graeco-Roman culture. It is but natural that the educationists of Europe and America should be concerned with the well-springs of their educational thought, but Comparative Education in an era of internationalism has the opportunity to extend its scope and purposes both in time and in space. Just as research workers in Comparative Education today and Modern Year Books of Education would consider it necessary to include India, Africa, China, Japan and Indonesia within the range of their studies and their surveys, a cultural history of Comparative Education would always remain incomplete without the inclusion of thought in India and China when, for instance, Plato was outlining his *Republic* and formulating his Laws, and Quintilian was instructing students for the Roman bar[1]

[1] KANDEL, I L, *Comparative Education*, pp. xvi-xxv, Houghton Miflin Company, New York, 1933, pp. xvi-xvii, "The Study of Foreign

European scholarship, particularly that branch of it engaged in historical, cultural and philosophic studies, has been mostly Hellenocentric and Europacentric and has neglected to a large extent synoptic and synthesising studies of the World that belongs to Mankind as a whole. For this restricted world-view the specialist should shoulder much of the blame. Excessive specialisation has resulted in the most restricted meanings applied to "humanism" and the "humanities". The classification of specialists into Egyptologists, Indologists, Sinologists under a general trade-mark "Orientalists" has not contributed to their acquiring respectability on an equal plane with those engaged in classical scholarship. The narrow outlook engendered by a certain type of Hellenocentric scholarship sometimes leads to the most startling and unscientific conclusions, as in the following passage in which the author dismisses the consideration of non-Grecian cultures with much the same sweep as Macaulay dismissed the study of Indian literatures.

"We are accustomed" says the author of *Paideia, the Ideals of Greek Culture,*

> "to use the word 'culture' not to describe an ideal which only a Hellenocentric world possesses, but in a much more trivial and general sense to denote something inherent in every nation of the world, even the most primitive. We use it for the entire complex of all the ways and expressions of life which characterise any one nation. Thus the word has sunk to mean a simple anthropological concept, not a concept of value, a consciously pursued *ideal.* In this vague, analogical sense it is permissable to talk of Chinese, Indian, Babylonian, Jewish or Egyptian culture, although none of these nations has a word or an ideal which corresponds to real culture." [2]

systems of education is not new; since the days when Athens was the school of Greece and 'captive Greece took captive her rude conqueror', history is rich in examples of international exchange of ideas, principles, and practices in education"; SCHNEIDER FRIEDRICH, *Triebkrafte der padagogik der volker,* pp. 324-407, *Das ausland als gestaltender faktor,* Otto Muller Verlag in Salzburg, 1947.

[2] JAEGER WERNER, *Paideia, the Ideals of Greek Culture,* translated from the second German edition by GILBERT HIGHET, Vol. I, p. xvii, Oxford, 1946; *Cf.* BARKER EARNEST, *Traditions of Civility,* pp 1-12, University Press, Cambridge, 1948.

Humanism could hardly be less humanistic, at least not in a world that reads Max Muller and Berridale Keith and Lafcadio Hearne, Ezra Pound and Radhakrishnan. Plato himself would repudiate this branch of humanism, for his liberal education consisted partly in his travels and in his study of institutions of those countries and peoples associated with Hellas. Like the histories of literature and the histories of the world that by-pass the East, even histories of Education forget one-half the world in spite of their comprehensive titles ; and even if they do provide a section or two to India and China, they seem to do so to satisfy some qualm of historical conscience or much in the fashion of a sop thrown to an intellectual and cultural Cerberus.[3]

The student of Comparative Education, therefore, has a vast and unexplored field before him, and it is yet possible for him to work as a pioneer in synthesising the world's experience and cultures at given epochs and at given periods of her history. The world is not understood and the achievements of mankind are not understood except " by an appreciation of the intangible, impalpable, spiritual and cultural forces " operating in various parts of the world at given epochs. It comes naturally to persons familiar with Eastern and Western thought to desire that standard works on the History of Secondary Education and the History of Universities and reference books on educational wisdom should include the wisdom of the other half of the world which they tend to neglect.[4] The interplay of

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3 E. g., MONROE PAUL, *A Text-book of the History of Education*, London, 1925 ; COLE, PERCIVAL, R., *A History of Educational Thought*, Oxford University Press, London, 1931 , BRUBACHER, JOHN, S , *A History of the Problems of Education*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1947, contains inaccurate statements. E g , *ibid*, p. 2, " India, an oriental country, had no regard for such occidental social aims as patriotism, economic prosperity, and social progress or for the individual aims of ambition, personal responsibility and self-reliance " ; EBY and ARROWOOD, *History and Philosophy of Education, Ancient and Medieval*. Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1951

4 ULICH ROBERT is one who has expressed the need of a place to Ancient Indian and Chinese Education. See his *Three Thousand Years of Educational Wisdom*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1947 ; ULICH ROBERT, *History of Educational Thought*, American Book Company, New York, 1945, p. vii, " It is regrettable that this book had to be

international forces and the communication and communion of ideas between peoples of the world may be traced even further than the age of the dolmens, and the deeper we go into history, the more surprising are the common characteristics of a uniform development to be traced among groups divided both in space and in time. The vision of reality, for instance, which dawned upon the thinkers of Greece and Asia Minor about the sixth century was not confined to Europe. It was broadly the age of Zarathustra in Persia, of Confucius in China, of the Buddha in India, and of the Hebrew prophets in Palestine. If we go still further, it does not become impossible to trace relationships between the Indus Valley Civilization on the one hand and Sumer, Akad, Egypt and the Aegean Civilization on the other.[5]

Our failure in synthesis arises from the fact that we wish to educate for international understanding, on a curriculum and a literature meant for instruction in nationalism[6]. We have also failed to note that the school is so much dependent on the scholarship of the University, that so long as scholarship takes a restricted view, education in internationalism and a synthesis of world-knowledge,

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restricted to one western civilization, for the time is ripe for a history of educational thought which conceives of our western world as only a part of the total civilization of mankind Particularly in the thought of Asia could we find sources of profound wisdom. We sometimes forget in our western conceit that, in spite of all their philosophical richness, Europe and the countries with typical European civilization have failed to produce anything which deserves to be called a world religion Confucius, Lao-tse, Buddha, Isiah, Christ—all have sprung from Asiatic soil. And, whether or not we like to admit it, they have done more for the education of mankind than all other great men together."; RADHAKRISHNAN, S. (Editor), *History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western*, Two Vols., George Allen and Unwin, London, 1953, is almost a first attempt to bring together the pholosophic thought of different countries.

[5] HROZNY FRIEDRICH, *Histoire de l'Asie anterieura, de l'Inde, et de la Crite depuis les origines jusquan debut du second millinaire*, Trad. franc. par Madeleinc David, Paris, 1947; HERAS, H, *Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture*, Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay, 1953.

[6] KANDEL, I. L., *Nationalism and Education*, in *The Year Book of Education*, pp. 26-46, Evans Brothers, London, 1949; JACKS, M L, *Total Education, a Plea for Synthesis*, pp. 113-126, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1950.

what should be the twentieth century realisation of the pan-sophic ideal of an Alexander and a Comenius must remain distant and remote. If the ideal of one world is not to become an empty word, children of different continents should hear not only of Alexander but also of Asoka, not only of the Parthenon and the Ara Pacis but also of Anuradhapura and Anghor Wat, Prambanan and Panataran, not only of the *Iliad* but also of the *Ramayana,* and the *Silappadikaram.*

It is not unlikely that at some future time it will be possible for the student of Comparative Education to have a synoptic perspective of educational thought down the ages. It is stimulating to see how certain ideas and techniques dominate parts of the world, at the same epoch or at different epochs. A comparison of the Indocentric area with the Hellenocentric points to certain dominant factors which show a parallel development across the centuries. There were eras, not necessarily synchronistic, when wandering minstrels and poets were the great educators of the two continents. There were periods when great epics like the *Iliad,* the *Ramayana,* the *Silappadikaram* constituted the content of popular education. There were long periods when exegetical works and commentaries on grammarians, philosphers and poets formed the subject of study and scholarship. University life at Taxila, at Nalanda, post-Christian Athens and at the Mediaeval Universities of Europe offer striking resemblances. Monks and monasteries in India and Ceylon played a similar role to that played by monasticism in the West in spreading learning and preserving the traditional lore. Chantry schools and Cathedral schools find their Eastern counterparts in the educational institutions that were attached to Buddhist and Jain monasteries and Hindu temples. Just as a great missonary movement carried the torch of learning to new peoples and remote places of Europe, a similar movement carried the Indian religions and Indian learning to the many states and peoples of South East Asia.

It is instructive to trace how literature, the theatre and the Fine Arts were the media of adult education in both regions. Whole systems of Comparative Education study await the enterprising students that will function as interpreters of one part of the world to another so that men may see human destiny and human thought steady and see them whole. Such vision is an absolute necessity for a world, that needs to understand Asia and her peoples.

Further, these studies become indispensable at this stage of Asian history when countries that have once again achieved independence are searching for the roots of their culture and their beliefs. Few Europeans and Americans are in a position to imagine the extent to which the history, philosophy and culture of these countries as extant before their contact with Europeans is being studied by these nations. There is every indication that educational thought, which in these countries has been mostly European in content during the colonial era, will be modified and altered by the study of the nation's past. It is but proper and natural that while on the one hand they are open to the influences of the outside world, they set up their educational house after their own indigenous traditions and in answer to their own social and economic needs. This will secure for them the most natural and organic development. Indian and Ceylonese education during the period of English rule has not been characterised by any great philosophy of education. It has been mainly utilitarian, arising as it did out of administrative needs. If foreign ideas were imported under foreign rule, they were mainly in the domain of methods, not of values, and hence a rethinking of education is observable in all countries which have become independent.[7]

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[7] E.g., *The Report of the University Education Commission*, Vol. I, pp. 56-57, Manager of Publications, Delhi, 1950; *The Report of the Secondary Education Commission*, Ministry of Education, Delhi, 1954; RAHMAN FALZUR, *New Education in the Making in Pakistan*, Cassell and Company, London, 1953; HUTASOIT, M., *Compulsory Education in Indonesia*, UNESCO, Paris, 1954; *Pyidwatha, the New Burma*, Govt. of the Union of Burma, 1954, p 113, "For the first time in the history of our education we have formulated aims which envisage a complete revolution in our educational system."

Dr. Nicholas Hans in defining the international scope of Comparative Education says :

> " The task is tremendous and can be successfully completed only by team-work of educationists of all countries and international educational agencies. The first step is to study each national system separately in its historical setting and its close connection with the development of national character and culture." [8]

An attempt should be made to trace in the spirit of team-work that Doctor Hans has envisaged the educational thought contained in one of the most ancient literatures of the world, written by a very ancient people in a very ancient part of peninsular India and Ceylon. It is true that ancient Indian education has been the subject of a number of studies by various scholars but like most studies on India they have been concerned almost exclusively with Northern India and the ancient Sanskrit and Pali literatures.[9] The notion that the Sanskrit and Pali literatures are fully representative of the entire field of ancient Indian culture is widely prevalent. This view overlooks the fact that an accurate and complete understanding of Ancient India and Ancient Ceylon is well nigh impossible without a study of the history and the only remaining literature of the Dravidian language-speaking peoples. On the distinctive and independent culture of the non-Aryan peoples of India and Ceylon in ancient times and on their importance in the evolution of the composite culture of India and Ceylon, I prefer to quote from non-Tamil speaking critics. Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterji in a notable contribution to a new series of volumes on the history of India says :

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8 HANS NICHOLAS, *Comparative Education*, p 7, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1951.

9 BOKIL, V. P, *The History of Education in India*, Bombay, 1925 ; DAS, SANTOSH KUMAR, *The Educational System of the Ancient Hindus*, Calcutta, 1930 ; KEAY, F. E, *Indian Education in Ancient and Later Times*, Oxford University Press, London, 1938 ; WOODY THOMAS, *Life and Education in Early Societies*, pp. 152-176, Macmillan, New York, 1949 ; ALTEKAR, A. S., *Education in Ancient India*, 4th edn., Nand Kishore & Bros., Banares, 1951 ; KUNHAN RAJA, C., *Some Aspects of Education in Ancient India*, University of Madras, Madras, 1950

"When the hypothesis of an Aryan invasion and occupation of India was first proposed some four generations ago, it was believed that the white-skinned, blue-eyed and golden-haired Aryans, like their kinsmen of Northern Europe, entered India from the plateau of Central Asia, which was then a land of romantic mystery, came to this land of the black-skinned non-Aryans, made an easy and matter-of-course conquest of them, and imposed upon an inferior race or races their superior religion, culture, and language. It was believed that all the better elements in Hindu religion and culture—its deeper philosophy, its finer literature, its more reasonable organization, everything in fact which was great and good and noble in it—came from the Aryans as a superior white race; and whatever was dark and lowly and superstitious in Hindu religion and civilization represented only an expression of the suppressed non-Aryan mentality. This view is now being gradually abandoned. It has been generally admitted, particularly after a study of both the bases of Dravidian and Aryan culture through language and through institutions, that the Dravidians contributed a great many elements of paramount importance in the evolution of Hindu civilization, which is after all (like all other great civilizations) a composite creation, and that in certain matters the Dravidian and Austric contributions are deeper and more extensive than that of the Aryans. The pre-Aryans of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa were certainly in possession of a higher material culture than what the semi-nomadic Aryans could show."[10]

And again :

"By far the most significant elements in the ancient civilization of India as it had evolved by the middle of the first millennium B.C. were contributed by the Dravidians." [10b]

The Dravidian language groups today are represented by the Telugu (33 m.) the Tamil (28 m. in India, Ceylon and Malaya) the Kannada (14 m.) the Malayalam (13 m.)

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10 CHATTERJI, S. K. *Race-movements and Pre-historic Culture*, in *The Vedic Age*, pp. 157-8, *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. I, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1951; see KUNHAN RAJA, C., *Pre-Vedic Elements in Indian Thought in History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western*, Vol I, pp 31-39, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1952.

10b CHATTERJI, S K., *The Basic Unity underlying the Diversity of Culture in Inter-relations of Cultures*, p. 169, UNESCO, Paris, 1953.

and by smaller populations in the Southern part of India and in isolated pockets in Central and North India.[11] These chief Dravidian language groups formed a solid bloc south of the Vindhyas in Ancient India and at least the Tamil area arrested active and intense Aryanisation at the frontiers during the period under survey while permitting the inflow of trade and to some extent of religious thought. Their country, their language, their culture and what we have of their literature are different from those of the Rig-Vedic Aryans. Southern India, therefore, especially the Tamil-speaking area, at least up to the period of Pallava ascendancy was not the scene of an ethnic, linguistic, religious, cultural interfusion of Dravidian and Aryan elements, the like of which was vigorous and active in the land roughly north of the Vindhyas. Pa:n:ini whose knowledge of Indian geography is extensive mentions none of these races except the Andhras, and his silence may be taken as an indication that his literary contemporaries recognised no linguistic or literary affiliations with the Southern societies.[12]

The Dravidian speaking peoples of Ancient India are best known in history by the kingdoms which the Kalingas, the Andhras and the Tamils established in the Dekhan and by their overseas trade and colonisation.[13] The Tamil speaking areas being at the southernmost extremity and having other Dravidian language groups as buffers between Aryavartha and themselves were not open to the non-Dravidian influences that were so active during this period

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11 BURROW, T., *The Sanskrit Language*, Faber and Faber, London, 1955, p. 376, "Besides the major languages there are numerous minor non-literary Dravidian languages spoken in various parts of India, namely;
(i) Southern: Tulu, Coorg, Toda, Kota
(ii) Central: (*a*) Kolami-Naiki; (*b*) Parji, Ollari, Poya; (*c*) Gondi, Konda; (*d*) Kui-Kuvi.
(iii) Northern: (*a*) Kuruch, Malto; (*b*) Brahui."

12 BHANDARKAR, R. G., *Early History of the Dekkan*, 3rd ed., pp. 8-14, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1928; AGRAWALA, V S., *India as known to Pa:n:ini*, University of Lucknow, Lucknow, 1952.

13 *Cambridge History of India*, Cambridge, 1935, Ch. XXIV, BARNETT, L. D., *The Early History of Southern India*.

in the Northern and Central parts of India. Ceylon, though in the South and in the pre-Buddhist period for cultural purposes dependant on South India, may have been an exception, since Central Indian influences, before the Asokan period could have reached it by sea.[14] This explains how up to the beginnings of the Pallava period (3rd Century A.D.) when strong political forces penetrated the Northern boundaries of Tamilakam (the Tamil land), the Tamil language area enjoyed an autonomy in culture, and how it becomes culturally and historically an independent source and subject of enquiry. I am aware that the term 'cultural autonomy" is misleading and might suggest a complete absence of foreign impact. No culture of civilised people, especially of a sea-faring and commercial people, is ever isolated. But if it be legitimate to speak of Rigvedic culture or Sanskrit culture or Greek culture or Aegean culture as separate autonomous independent cultures, then it is equally ligitimate to speak of the autonomous and independent Tamil culture of the Academy or Cankam period.

Our field of enquiry ranges broadly from the third century B.C. to the second century A.D., a period of five centuries to which may be ascribed the corpus of ancient Tamil literature known as literature of the third Academy or Academy literature or Cankam literature.[15] At the beginning of this epoch itself, during the reign of Chandragupta Maurya and of Asoka, the Tamil states appear independent, well-established governments already posses-

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[14] NILAKANTA SASTRI, K. A., *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, Motilal Banarsidas, Banaras, 1952, p. 256, "The first immigrants into the island (Ceylon) were probably people from the Malabar Coasts who called themselves Nagas and gave the name Nagadvipa to the Northern section of the island, the ancestors of the modern Nayars of Malabar — Naya being but the Prakrit form of the word Naga."

[15] The unequivocal recorded account that there were literary academies to approve Tamil works of literary merit occurs about the 6th c. A.D. According to this tradition, the literary works of the first two academies are lost. What remains are the works of the third Academy or third Cankam which according to tradition ended about the second or third century A.D. The details of the Academy tradition may be disputed but the tradition itself would seem to contain a core of historical truth.

sed of a developed language and a literature and enjoying commercial relations with the Western world and possibly also with the East.[16] The evidence of Megasthenes, it should be remembered, is fragmentary and second-hand, but it is remarkable that of the fragments of his four books preserved for us, those fragments pertaining to the South are valuable for their witness to Southern political stability and trade. The political stability is confirmed by the second and thirteenth rock edicts of Asoka, from which may be argued that the Tamil kingdoms were independent states with which the Mauryan emperor had established good-will relations.

While Tamil sources of probably a little later date refer to the wealth of the Nandas and the military prowess of the Mauryas, non-Tamil sources of this period, both Indian and foreign, are evidence of the commercial intercourse between Tamilakam and the outside world.[17] Endowed as were the Tamil kingdoms with a coastline of more than a thousand miles and with islands in the neighbourhood, the Tamil kingdoms probably developed seafaring from very early times, a calling in which the Austrics, their predecessors on the Indian peninsula were accomplished.[18] The pearls of the coasts of Ceylon and the Pandyan kingdom, the soft muslin of Madura, the peacocks, teak, and sandalwood of the western range reached Northern India and the Mediterranean regions, and a few Tamil words for exported commodities lingered in the Hebrew and Greek and Sanskrit tongues to indicate the extent of

16 NILAKANTA SASTRI, K. A., *Foreign Notices on South India*, University of Madras, Madras, 1939.

17 On the literary evidence read SRINIVASA IYENGAR, P. T, *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture*, University of Madras, Madras; ID, *History of the Tamils from the Earliest Times to 600 A.D.*, Coomaraswamy Naidu & Sons, Madras, 1929; SIVARAJA PILLAI, K. N., *The Chronology of the Ancient Tamils*, University of Madras, Madras, 1932. *Cf.* McCRINDLE, J. W., *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, London, 1877; ID., *Ancient India as described by Ktesias the Knidian*, London, 1882.

18 BAGCHI, P. C., *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, translated from the French of SYLVAIN LEVI, JEAN PRZYLUSKI and JULES BLOCH, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1929.

southern trade earlier than Chandragupta Maurya and Megasthenes.[19] The case for an independent and developed Tamil society at the opening of this epoch receives most strength from the independent cultured vocabulary and the literary conventions of the earliest Tamil poems extant which argue a very long period of literary and social culture preceding them.[20] The absence of direct evidence for the growth of Tamil literature from its primitive and earliest stages is no indication that these stages did not exist, and it is the function of the critic to attempt reconstructions of earlier societies from the available evidence and from the laws of human development observable in similar societies. When Tamil literature makes its appearance in history, it does so as in a flourishing age of letters. But within this literature of a flourishing age are to be found the relics and reminiscences of tribal customs and primitive conventions and old forgotten far off things and battles long ago.[21]

* * * *

In spite of the independent light thrown by Ancient Tamil literature on the non-Aryan influences prevalent on the Indian peninsula, no non-Tamil speaking scholar appears to have hitherto published any work which necessitates the study of the entire volume of this literature in its original. The reasons for this neglect are many. The notion pointed out earlier that Sanskrit literature along with Pali is representative of the totality of Indian thought is widespread both in India and outside of India. Since the Sanskrit language is an important representative of the

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[19] CALDWELL, ROBERT, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, pp. 91-107, Trubner & Co., London, 1875; KRISHNASVAMY AIYANGAR, *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, p. 4, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1942; BURROW, T., *The Sanskrit Language*, o.c., pp. 373-388, *Non-Aryan Influence on Sanskrit.*

[20] SRINIVASA IYENGAR, P. T., *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture*, University of Madras, Madras.

[21] SRINIVASA IYENGAR, P T, *History of the Tamils*, o c., THANI NAYAGAM XAVIER, S., *Nature in Ancient Tamil Poetry*, Colombo Book Centre, Colombo, 1952.

Indo-European family of languages, it has been a subject of most industrious and laborious scholarship in Europe and America. Its affiliations with Old Iranian, with Greek and Latin, with Baltic and Slavonic, with Hittite and Celtic make it an indispensable study in Western Linguistics. Rig-Vedic literature is the earliest of the literatures of the Indo-European languages and has an importance that can be scarcely attributed to any other literature in the world.

Further, in the field of Indian studies, there is a false assumption that the historic process in India is one of progressive Aryanisation of the Indian peninsula, a process which, according to the same assumption, was complete several centuries before Christ and which did not accept of any exceptions. This assumption is responsible for the ignoring of the Austric and Dravidian constituents of Indian culture and of the process of Dravidisation of the Aryan speaking colonisers and the extent to which Dravidian cultures and languages held the field in Central and Northern India over long periods of time. Scholars like Max Muller and Sylvain Levi did deprecate the "too exclusive examination of India from the Indo-European standpoint," but so far it is only in the field of Linguistics that the non-Aryan elements have received a certain recognition. Pali literature, of course, as the sources for the study of Theravada Buddhism has been consistently examined with Sanskrit in the examination of pre-Christian Indian thought, as also the Jaina literature written in the Prakrits.

The study of Sanskrit literature in Europe and even America has been also promoted on the basis of supposititious blood relationship between the Aryans of India and the Aryans of Europe. Max Muller did repudiate in later life the transfer of his linguistic nomenclature to ethnology by saying :

> "I have declared again and again that if I say Aryas, I mean neither blood nor bones, nor hair, nor skull ; I

> mean simply those who speak an Aryan language...... To me an ethnologist who speaks of Aryan race, Aryan blood, Aryan eyes and hair, is as great a sinner as a linguist who speaks of a dolichocephalic dictionary or a brachycephalic grammar." [22]

Nevertheless, among literary men in Germany, and to a lesser extent in other countries, appeals for greater interest in Sanskrit continued to be made on the basis of Aryan racial affinity.[23] These appeals, apart from their false and unscientific basis, ignored the contribution of the non-Aryan speakers of India to the development of Sanskrit literature and thought in centuries when the Sanskrit language occupied a position of eminence in the halls of learning all over India.

The earliest Tamil poetry unlike the earliest Sanskrit poetry is predominantly secular and personal poetry. It is not the composition of a sacerdotal caste but of poets of several castes and of different religious and philosophical beliefs. It is the poetry of a society in which the poet and the artiste played as educative a role as the priest in Rig-vedic society. It is a poetry that is not exclusively, not even predominantly, of kings and princes, but describes the sentiments, emotions and the ordinary life of ordinary people, of the hunters of the hills, the shepherds in the plains, the fisher-folk by the sea and young lovers everywhere. It speaks of valorous kings, of self-sacrificing chieftains, of patriotic mothers, of palaces and cities and of the poor and the lowly.

Even K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, not always a reliable writer on Tamil influences, has had to concede the unique

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[22] HUXLEY JULIAN, S., and HADDON, A. C., *We, Europeans, A survey of racial relations*, p. 151, Jonathan Cape, London, 1936.

[23] WINTERNITZ, M., *A History of Indian Literature*, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1927, Vol I, p. 5., "People speak of an Indo-European "race" which does not exist at all and never has existed ... Though the Indians are not flesh of our flesh, or bone of our bone, we may yet discover mind of our mind in the world of Indian thought."

picture of early society portrayed by Ancient Tamil poetry. He says :

> "If, as is commonly believed, the colophons embody a tradition, which, apart from the corruptions and losses due to neglect and time, may be accepted as correct, then we must recognise in these poems a quantity of literary evidence of unique value ; because then, no other part of India can be said to provide such sober and realistic pictures of contemporary life and politics as these early Tamil classics furnish." [24]

It is not only as historical sources that these classics are of value. Judgments on various aspects of Ancient India remain incomplete and one-sided because of the ignoring of this ancient literature. The studies of culture and society by Sorokin, of literature by the Chadwicks, of history by Toynbee, of Education by Brubacher and Woody contain inaccurate inferences because they have been unaware of this literature which represents literary *genres* not to be found elsewhere. As a source for the study of Ancient Indian Education, it offers unplumbed depths and unchartered seas.

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24 NILAKANTA SASTRI, K. A., *Studies in Cola history and administration*, p. 1., University of Madras, Madras, 1932

The Place of English in Indian Education*

C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR

Recent events in the Madras University bring to prominence two important questions: Is the English Language the proper medium for education in our country? Again, what share of importance should be attached to the study of the English Language and Literature in our system of education? On these two questions the view submitted in this article is, first, that the proper media of instruction in our system of education are our own great national languages, and that steps should at once be taken to bring about the substitution, and secondly, whether the medium of instruction be English or not, much less of the time and energy available for the education of our youth should be devoted to the pure study of the English Language than is at present insisted on by our Universities, especially that of Madras.

The Turks once made an expedition into Persia, and because of the steep lines of mountains in Armenia, the Padshaw consulted which way they should get in. One of the council said: "Here's much ado how you shall get in; but I hear nobody take care how you should get out." We have found our way into Western science and culture in spite of the steep barrier of language and have conquered

* This is a paper read by Rajaji to the Salem Teachers' Association forty years ago and published on September 1, 1916 in the political fortnightly, *Commonweal*, edited by Mrs. Annie Besant. The article will be read with great interest for its lucid exposition of the unique function of language in the culture-development process, and for the cogency and vigour with which the thesis was presented so long ago by Rajaji to a body of teachers. The article came to light in the course of a search—now in progress—for materials covering the early years of the distinguished leader's public life, by Mr. S. Krishnan of the USIS and is republished with Rajaji's approval.—Editor.

the country ; but we have no means of extricating our expeditionary force from the enclosing language, so that the wealth of the conquered country may pass to the Nation. In fixing English as the sole medium of instruction in all the departments of study here, as in English-speaking England or America, a grave miscalculation was made as to the future of Indian national life. Educative effort produced a class isolated in cultural form from the people. The languages of the people were not fed with the new aliment. Hence the full result of the impact of Western civilisation on Eastern culture could not be attained. When making a European language the medium of instruction for spreading European knowledge in India, due allowance was not made for the persistent life of Eastern culture and Eastern languages ; and an over-calculation was made as to the number of people who would come in time under the direct influence of the new culture. This is the reason why the new knowledge has not reached the people and produced those beneficial results which otherwise were long overdue, and by vicious interaction, why it has failed to produce full results even in those few who have come under its direct influence. While the people's life remains much where it was ages ago, the University scholars are living in an unreal world of their own, fed on the culture and activities of a fanciful world that has nothing to do with the life of the community to which they belong. The culture of our Universities has no real living connection with the life around us. The best products of our Universities actually live in a fanciful world brought over from Europe. They deal with what may be realities elsewhere, but only with shadows and unrealities as far as India goes.

Had a gradual substitution of the national languages been provided for, after a half-century of work modern civilisation and knowledge would have found a real resting place in the languages of the people, and there would have been a living connection between the life of the nation and

the culture of its Universities. At present the two are apart. A cultured product of our Universities would be intellectually more at home if permitted to move in English society than among his own people ; and he has to lead a strange and pernicious double life, with a foreign culture existing only in his brain for individual intellectual enjoyment, and conforming to the actual daily life and thought of quite a different community. There is not that beneficial mutual interaction between the highest products of culture and the growing national life at its average level, which is the true national function of culture and not individual intellectual pleasure.

Indeed, the more complete the product of the University, and the more keenly he enjoys his English literature, the more inseparable to him is the English language from that culture, and the more hopelessly impossible to him is the act of transferring that culture on to the life of the non-English-knowing people around him. So vicious has been the training that it is not possible for us, except with the highest effort of intellectual detachment and imagination to conceive of University education being imparted through our own national tongues.

To develop in the body and the soul the fullest extent of beauty and perfection of which they are capable is the aim of education as put by Plato. But in successive ages, and in different communities, there has not been agreement as to what is beauty or perfection.

A proper conception of education to serve as a guide to actual practice must be relative in every way to the state of development of the society in which it is given. Perfection of life in Athens of the age of Plato is different from perfection of life in the Arabia of the age of Muhammad ; very different from what it was in the eighteenth-century Oxford ; or what it is in modern India in our own changing times : and this again is not what it was in India at the time

of the Mahabharata, or what it was in the seventeenth century, or what it is in modern London or Paris.

In times of unrest and change in any community, in educational conceptions, as in social and intellectual life, the type of culture is not absolutely accepted and may be regarded only as a stage in development. We are in such an age of unrest in our community.

During such times of unrest and change, even where the community governs itself in matters of education, the conservative classes, and the very schools and the Universities which are the channels by which adult culture flows to the young, offer conservative and traditional obstruction to any change in themselves to correspond to the changes in moving national life. Added to this difficulty, where the education of such communities vests by the chance of politics in an external force, Monarch, or People, the mistakes which such an external agency is always liable to commit in the gradual adjustment of educational processes to national ideals are likely to be greater during such periods of unrest, whose changing pulse they naturally fail successfully and quickly to feel.

Witness the troublesome unsolved questions of literary, scientific or technical education, moral or religious or secular instruction, standards of efficiency in various departments of education, on which the battles are fought unaided by the potent answers of the voice and the life of the people. If our University culture had been imparted through our own languages, and the people had had access to the new wealth of knowledge, these questions would not have been permitted to be questions of cold logic based on the notions of individual philosophers and faddists, but would have been solved by the involuntary and irresistible force of national life and experience.

For an age of unrest and change, continual readjustment by small and imperceptible steps should be provided

for in any scheme of national education. Otherwise the cleavage between educational process and national life is bound, in order to bring about the necessary concordance, to end in sudden revolutions in the former. However necessary and ultimately desirable the final results of such revolutions may be, yet, during the actual period of violent change, the work must suffer.

In maintaining that the national languages of India should be the media of instruction in the schools and Universities no stress need be laid on what is generally put forward, especially by the teaching profession, as the chief argument in the matter, viz., the great waste of energy over a foreign and difficult language ; nor need we consider the proof of this waste by seeing how far it explains the general lassitude following University studies in most cases in our country. The waste of time and energy is in the lower stages of education, wherein there is no justification whatever for maintaining English as the medium for instruction. As for University, and, generally, higher education, the standard of proficiency in English necessary for the purpose has been greatly exaggerated. To serve as a working medium for instruction in the highest courses of study, a very easily attainable degree of proficiency in English, is quite sufficient, which need not involve any deplorable loss of energy. But the one aspect here insisted upon is the national effect of starving the languages of the country, and imprisoning culture in a foreign language.

It is no answer to say that the medium of instruction in Universities does not matter, and that there is nothing in it to prevent the absorption of science and the growth of thought and literature in our own languages, if men realised the duty they owed to their nation and its languages. It is idle to refuse to recognise the very great effect the medium of thought and instruction in the Universities has upon the life of the cultured classes, and upon their capacity to add to the literature of a language in which they were

not brought up to think in the higher levels. It would be ignoring the potent direct influence which the activities of the seats of learning in any country have upon the growth of the language and literature of that country.

Not having provided for gradual change in this matter, we must accept the only other cure, a revolution with all its immediate evils. Our national life demands that the new knowledge must come on the sacred vehicles of the national tongues. English must go, and the people's languages come into the Universities, even as, in England, the tyranny of the classical languages had to yield in favour of Science and the living language.

The incidental immediate loss of power due to the crude condition in which many of the national languages were allowed by us to remain, and the absence of necessary books, may cause great confusion, pessimism, and even despair. But these are the well known and necessary evils of all revolutions. We must reap the reward of past neglect. But the sooner the change, the less violent the gathering force and the revolution.

It should be remembered that there is no gain whatever, except for individual enjoyment, in a merely higher degree of culture which cannot flow in full quantity to the people. It is far better to have even a much lower degree of culture if, by its form and nature, it be really and fully fluid and assimilable.

Let us, therefore, focus public opinion on this matter and hasten the inevitable revolution, so that the travail may be easy.

Those who are of this opinion need not be taken to be wanting in keenness of enjoyment of English literature or in a just appreciation of the cultural value of that great literature. But they hold that it should be relegated to its proper place in Indian education. The culture of that

literature and the reality of it in Indian life should be proved by divesting it of its unessential English form, and clothing it in our own tongues ; and, not mistaking words and symbols for the things themselves, by finding for it final and permanent shape in thought and action, which alone are the real life and body of all true culture.

Constructive work should be begun at once to break the force of the coming revolution as much as possible. The work of feeding the national languages with modern thought and knowledge must be taken up with patriotic zeal. What appears crude, make-shifty, hybrid, and vulgar today will become the plastic, wealthy, scientific and standard language of the next generation. What now seems pure, correct and classical, though unyielding, will be treated as stiff and antiquated then. Let us begin the patriotic work of translation, taking no thought of purity of language, but only of advancement of national education. Truth, time, and the people, will sift the product, and make the standard.

To believe that English will become the national language of the people of United India is obviously absurd. No less absurd is the more moderate hope that English will occupy such a place as a universal second language as to perform the function of *conveying thought and knowledge to the people as a whole,* however much it may serve as a *political lingua franca.* We cannot dispense with the national languages. There is no insuperable difficulty on account of the number of the prevailing languages. Each one of the greater Indian languages is sufficiently strong to serve as the language for many Universities. Tamil serves as the language for a population about half the total population of France, and Telugu for a larger number. Tamil is spoken by more than three times the population of Sweden, and Telugu by about four times that number. Hindi is spoken by about 60 millions ; the population of Germany is only 70 millions. Bengali is spoken by a

population much bigger than that of France or that of the United Kingdom—England, Scotland and Ireland together Are these languages not to be the languages of Universities for the training and culture of the youths of these several communities ?

The study of English literature in our Universities should continue. The study of one or two foreign languages is very essential for true culture. Huxley once summarised the advantages of such study. " The knowledge of some other language than one's own is of singular intellectual value. One of the safest ways of delivering yourself from the bondage of words is to know how ideas look in words to which you are not accustomed. Many of the faults and mistakes of ancient philosophers are traceable to confusion of the symbol with the thought which it embodied, a confusion to which they were led by their not knowing any language but their own. A foreign language opens new fields in art and in science. Then there is the practical value of such knowledge," especially where it is the language of the great nation that governs us. Administration and commerce as well as national politics are rendered easy by a wide knowledge of English. Lastly : " You will know your own language better if you learn an additional language."

For all these purposes a good working acquaintance with English is quite enough. A standard no higher than that which is demanded for French and German in British Universities, or better still that which is insisted on in English in German Universities, is nearer the ideal than the present extremely high and compulsory University standard, which takes away an undue share of the time and energy of our University students to the detriment of real education. There cannot be any thing more atrocious than that our young men who have enough English to go through all advanced Sciences from English books, and with English teachers, and who satisfy severe tests con-

ducted in English in those branches of knowledge by Doctors of Science, History and Philosophy, brought from England and Scotland, should yet be debarred from all branches of University Education simply because they do not also pass a severe test in pure English conducted by English-speaking scholars of the older Universities of England with, in most cases, no sense of moderation or proportion induced by a study of modern sciences. Such a system lays a premium upon mere language attainment, and keeps off much really good material from our Universities. The enormous loss to national life and culture cannot be adequately estimated and would be tolerated nowhere else.

After all, for culture in the Matthew-Arnoldian sense—of possession of a just criticism of life, of refinement in intellectual thought and emotion—one may doubt whether Eastern culture has much to learn from the West. With our own literature, our manners and our life, I believe we take no mean place in the scale of civilisation in this sense. True, even here, we need not believe that the West has nothing to teach us ; but it is maintained that in *Spread*, in extension of the higher life over all classes, we have succeeded better ; that the average national level of culture in this sense is on the whole higher among us than in Western communities. In self-restraint, the breadth of philosophical and moral vision, in the realisation of the higher elements of life, a far deeper culture beautifies the life and manners of our people, the literate as well as the common and illiterate, than really can be claimed by the people of the West on behalf of their masses. There is not much need to draw on English or other Western literature for progress in this direction. Equipped with a study of our own literatures and philosophies, we can attain a very high degree of literary, moral and aesthetic culture. The real want is in the direction of political and social strength, and on the material side of civilisation. Here is exotic nourishment needed, and for this, Western science and

history are our foster-mothers. All effort, therefore, should turn in this direction, and the energy of our Universities should not be wasted on the unnecessary, but ought to be conserved for things essential. If there is anything in the West that the East should absorb, it is not its civilisation on the intellectual or emotional, moral or philosophical side, but it is the material, and what are usually considered the baser, elements of it. To us the material element is the all-important part.

Apart from the importance and value of science for our national progress, the methods of science and scientific training have the highest cultural value, and are just the elements of education most necessary to perfect our national type of intellect.

It is believed by some, taken for granted without sufficient examination of causes, that a large number, if not most, of our students are unfit for scientific culture, and are suited only for literary, historical or philosophical courses of study. This is a false belief. These defects are made, not born. They are developed by a long process of parental and pedagogic error continued also by the vicious reaction of one generation of mistrained boys upon the succeeding generation. Put our boys and girls through the proper training from their childhood onwards ; they will not be inferior to any other in the world, in this or in any other respect.

Against the reduction of the high and compulsory standard of attainment now demanded by some of our Universities irrespective of the particular departments of study in which the students specialise, it is argued by some that it would be an ugly spectacle if holders of high University degrees spoke and wrote unidiomatic and incorrect English. It wants some effort to get over any convention. It seems absurd that an M.A., of the Madras University should not talk chaste idiomatic English. But it does not,

if he is unable to talk or write even indifferent Tamil, his own mother tongue. The supreme ugliness of the pretension to be a cultured Indian, though entirely ignorant of Samskrit, pronouncing even the very names of your places and your languages as ignorant foreigners pronounce them, and unable to express the commonest sentiments in your own mother tongue, this ugliness is not realised. Our futile though praiseworthy attempt to write and speak, for the commonest purposes of life, the language of another nation without error of idiom or style, instead of our own ; the hybrid jargon of the conversations of our educated men when unbending in the Vernaculars, are really the ugliest things in this world which we do not realise. University men of Oxford or Cambridge do not feel it a shame if they are unable to talk or write idiomatic French or German, as spoken and written by born Frenchmen and Germans ; but, indeed, they would feel it a shame if they did not learn to talk and write the very best English.

An Indian Degree, it should be remembered is not an English Degree. Nor is an Indian University a branch of the Universities on the Cam and the Isis. An Indian Degree should be recognised as an Indian Degree, and should connote high culture and learning in Arts and Sciences, which are of all languages and not of English alone. It should no doubt connote a good working acquaintance with one or even two of the modern foreign languages of importance, like English, French or German. But above all it should connote the very best knowledge of Samskrit, which contains all the living though ancient culture of India; while the principal language of the University and its Faculties, the language of its arts and its sciences, should be one or other of the great living languages of the people. Then alone will the culture of the Universities perform its national function.

Rajaji informs us that his views as expressed forty years ago in this article remain unchanged (EDITOR, *Tamil Culture*)

NOTE

The above in substance was placed before the Salem Teachers' Association at a debate held on the subject. There was remarkable unanimity of opinion in support of the views expressed above, with one noteworthy exception. The President of the Association, Mr. P. Seshadri, now English Professor and Vice-Principal-Elect of the Benares Hindu College, expressed from the Chair a dissenting view, the logic of which the writer failed to follow. He said that we owe a great deal to the English language and English literature; there was not a single good movement of modern India in politics, social reform, literature or even religion, which could not be directly traced to the effect of English literature. Granting, it follows that we ought to be grateful, it does not follow that we should eternally keep a foreign language as a medium for instruction. He said that it was a retrograde step to give up the elevating study of English literature. But this step no one proposed. He further maintained that the best proof of the error of the proposal would come in the actual experiment of it, as the people of the country would certainly send their boys to the English teaching Colleges, and not to the Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Hindi, or Bengali Universities; a wrong argument, proceeding on an unfair competition between a protected institution and an unprotected one. What we ask for is a proper share of protection for Universities constituted as we suggest, which we maintain will ultimately be of the highest national value. He also added that in area and spoken strength the languages of India were not big enough to serve as University languages, a position obviously erroneous. If he referred to the smallness of the *literate* population, this applies as much to English as to the Indian languages. The large percentage of illiteracy even in mother tongues is a condition that can and ought to be remedied quite apart from the question of language in Universities. Mr. Seshadri laid no stress on the absence of suitable books in Indian languages, as evidently he felt

that it was a defect which was as much an effect of the existing state of things as an objection to a change, and we cannot wait to begin till everything is ready.

C. R.

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ENGLISH AS THE MEDIUM OF EDUCATION*

My article on the above subject has been adversely criticised by your Allahabad contemporary, the *Leader*, in its Editorial of September 17, by merely repeating the more plausible arguments among those advanced by the Principal of the Benares College, which I had already noticed in my original article.

The *Leader* charges me with a confusion of thought that is said to vitiate my logic, but does not choose to point it out, nor guard itself against a very inexcusable and real confusion of ideas in which Mr. P. Seshadri's arguments were lost, *viz.*, that of confounding education through the medium of English, with instruction in modern science and thought—two totally distinct things.

My chief point was this: Western knowledge and culture would flow more easily than at present to the masses, if we employed the medium of our own languages in the Universities and schools. I also maintain that our languages will not improve in adaptability to modern science and modern thought unless we begin to employ them for the purposes of education in the Universities and schools. The *Leader* has not met either of these points.

A supposed inconsistency is referred to, in connection with a passage quoted from my article, wholly based on

* Published in *Commonweal* on October 6th, 1916 as a letter to the Editor

a total misunderstanding of the meaning of the first person plural in the sentence quoted. Whereas I referred to the few English-educated men, your Allahabad contemporary reads the whole nation into it, and an inconsistency naturally follows. A perusal of the passage referred to would show the obvious error of the criticism.

The *Leader* refers with great eloquence to England "the proud possessor of an Empire," and points out that it "derived its culture and the inspiration for its institutions through the Greek and Latin languages." I fear I do not see here that close reasoning and that preference for ideas rather than for words, the absence of which the *Leader* deplores in my article. I have not been able to see the correctness of this parallel either as to the facts relied upon, or as to their having occurred after, or in spite of, England's becoming the possessor of an Empire, or of the bearing of the comparison on the question at issue. I believed English boys at no time studied their history of England in Greek or Latin ; or their geography, or their mathematics, or even their science, in any language but their own. I fancy they learnt even Greek and Roman History only in English. I also never heard they conducted their scientific journals in England in Greek or Latin at any time, nor that they ever acted on the policy of improving their own language by letting it alone and carefully avoiding the use of it in teaching science and other branches of knowledge in their schools and Colleges.

In any discussion on this subject, there can be no profitable result if we confound the subject-matter of studies, *viz.*, modern science and modern knowledge, with the medium of instruction ; and this error vitiates the *Leader's* criticism, as it did Mr. Seshadri's remarks.

Salem. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR.

Linguistic Prehistory of India*

—MURRAY B. EMENEAU

At some time in the second millennium B.C., probably comparatively early in the millennium, a band or bands of speakers of an Indo-European language, later to be called Sanskrit, entered India over the northwest passes. This is our linguistic doctrine which has been held now for more than a century and a half. There seems to be no reason to distrust the arguments for it, in spite of the traditional Hindu ignorance of any such invasion, their doctrine that Sanskrit is " the language of the gods," and the somewhat chauvinistic clinging to the old tradition even to-day by some Indian scholars. Sanskrit, " the language of the gods," I shall therefore assume to have been a language brought from the Near East or the Western world by the nomadic bands.

These invaders did not penetrate into a linguistic vacuum. What did they find to the east of the passes ? If the archaeologists' reconstruction and chronology of the events are at all well-founded, they found over the whole of the Indus Valley a high culture (the Harappā culture of the archaeologists), which was a sibling or a remote cousin of the high cultures of the Near East—Egypt, the Fertile Cresent, Mesopotamia.[1] Here were great and small

* This paper was read by Prof. Emeneau, before the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, on April 23, 1954 and is reprinted in *Tamil Culture* with their permission.

[1] See, *e.g.*, Mackay, Ernest, *Early Indian civilizations*, London, Luzac and Co., 1948; Wheeler, R. E. M. (now Sir Mortimer), in various places, esp. *Ancient India* 3: 74—76, Jan. 1947. and *The Cambridge history of India*, supp. vol. *The Indus Civilization*, Cambridge, Univ. Press, 1953; Piggott, Stuart, *Prehistoric India to 1000 B.C.*, Pelican Book, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1950, with good select bibliographies.

cities, whose life was based on the riverine agriculture permitted by a great river and its tributaries in a vast, irrigable, alluvial valley. The probabilities are that the culture was as rigidly regimented and as firmly based on a system of serfdom or slavery as were the Near Eastern cultures.[2] So far the excavations have not yielded, and it seems improbable that they will in future yield, evidence of a material brilliance such as that of Egypt and Mesopotamia. It may be that the Harappā culture was the "repellent" thing that one of its interpreters[3] has called it—"drab" or "dull"[4] might be a better, because a less subjective, word.

For our present interest, however, it is to be recalled that this culture was literate. The many short inscriptions on seals are written in a script that is non-identical in its forms with either the Egyptian hieroglyphs or the Mesopotamian cuneiform, but that is somewhat similar to the early stages of both in that it probably developed from a picture-writing, rebus-like in nature, and was apparently, like both, syllabic in its structure.[5] The unknown script and subject-matter, combined with the shortness of the inscriptions, have so far defied convincing decipherment.

The most ambitious attempt up to date, that of Father Heras,[6] has posited that the language is an old member of the Dravidian family which is now located chiefly in South and Central India, but which still has an outlying member, Brahui, in the highlands of Baluchistan to the west of the Indus Valley. There is nothing *a priori* against this assumption. Speakers of Dravidian languages now

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2 Wheeler, *Ancient India*. *loc. cit*

3 Piggot, *op. cit.* 201.

4 "Dull" is Wheeler's word in *Tamil Culture* 2 · 20, 1953, he declares, however, in *The Indus Civilization*, 63 f. that the remains suggest "an aesthetic capacity more broadly based than the recovered examples of it alone would indicate," an aesthetic capacity perhaps expended in part on the perishable art of wood-carving

5 Piggott, *op. cit.* 178—181. Kroeber's term "stimulus diffusion" must be called to mind.

6 Many articles in Indian journals have been devoted to this "decipherment." It seems unnecessary to list them

number about 90 millions or just under one quarter of the population of the Indian subcontinent (making the family the fifth or sixth largest in the world). The geographical distribution, and the nature of the boundary in Central India between Dravidian speakers and the speakers of the Indo-Aryan languages that descend from the invader language Sanskrit, are good evidence that Dravidian has been steadily retreating before Indo-Aryan. The Dravidian-speakers of the farthest South, the Tamil-speakers, early acquired a high culture with all the features of the North Indian culture that was framed in Sanskrit. Even the grammar and the literary criticism of the Sanskritic culture were among the early borrowings and are the subjects of the earliest extant Tamil text. As is usual in India, no exact dating of this early literature is possible, but it is clearly no later than the earliest centuries of the Christian era and may well be pre-Christian. Tamil script is known from the Arikamedu finds of the first century A.D. And the presence of Aśokan inscriptions in Middle Indo-Aryan dialects as far south as Mysore State in the third century B.C. is witness to the spread of Sanskritic culture southwards prior to this period—for who could have been addressed by Aśoka in Indo-Aryan dialects if not literate brahmans who had settled in the South in some numbers on their missionary occasions ?

Be that as it may, it has been claimed that the far southern, Tamil form of the brahmanical Sanskritic culture of India shows in its earliest remains so many specific high features that are not North Indian, that we must posit a high culture in South India prior to the spread of the brahmanical culture there. Archaeological evidence to substantiate these claims, however, is still lacking.[7] Yet, taking all together, the assumption that the language of the Indus Valley documents was Dravidian is clearly not fantastic.

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[7] Wheeler, *Ancient India* 4: 89. July 1947—Jan. 1948, with some bibliography.

In spite of this, the attempts at interpretation have not been convincing. Since the subject-matter of the documents is unknown, any subject-matter, i.e. meaning, that is assigned to any element of the script, is arbitrary. A succession of arbitrary meanings thus assigned to the symbols (with, to be sure, a little aid from Sumerian texts) may, in fact, be made to coincide with a Dravidian-like succession of phonemes, but only for short stretches of the material. The Indus Valley material is made up of a fairly large number of short inscriptions, but it is only by positing numerous arbitrary variations of sound and of meaning for the same symbols that anything like a coherent system can be made to run through the total corpus. It is this necessity to vary, or, in other words, this self-given permission to vary in the sound and meaning that are attached to the smallish number of different symbols, plus the impossibility of checking the arbitrary meanings, that has convinced the interested scholars that the method used has been an unconvincing one—that, to put it more crudely, by this method one can give the inscriptions any interpretation one wishes.

In fact, promising as it has seemed to assume Dravidian membership for the Harappā language, it is not the only possibility. Professor W. Norman Brown has pointed out (*The United States and India and Pakistan*, 131-132, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953) that Northwest India, i.e. the Indus Valley and adjoining parts of India, has during most of its history had Near Eastern elements in its political and cultural make-up at least as prominently as it had true India elements of the Gangetic and Southern types. The passage is so important that it is quoted in full :

> More ominous yet was another consideration. Partition now would reproduce an ancient, recurring, and sinister incompatibility between the Northwest and the rest of the subcontinent, which, but for a few brief periods of uneasy cohabitation, had kept them politically apart or hostile and had rendered the subcontinent defensively weak. When an intrusive people came through the passes

and established itself there, it was at first spiritually closer to the relatives it had left behind than to any group already in India. Not until it had been separated from those relatives for a fairly long period and had succeeded in pushing eastward would it loosen the external ties. In period after period this seems to have been true. In the third millennium B.C. the Harappā culture in the Indus Valley was partly similar to contemporary western Asian civilizations and partly to later historic Indian culture of the Ganges valley. In the latter part of the next millennium the earliest Aryans, living in the Punjab and composing the hymns of the Rig Veda, were apparently more like their linguistic and religious kinsmen, the Iranians, than like their eastern Indian contemporaries. In the middle of the next millennium the Persian Achaemenians for two centuries held the Northwest as satrapies. After Alexander had invaded India (327/6-325 B.C.) and Hellenism had arisen, the Northwest too was Hellenized, and once more was partly Indian and partly western. And after Islam entered India, the Northwest again was associated with Persia, Bokhara, Central Asia, rather than with India, and considered itself Islamic first and Indian second.

The periods during which the Punjab has been culturally assimilated to the rest of northern India are few if any at all. Periods of political assimilation are almost as few ; perhaps a part of the fourth and third centuries B.C. under the Mauryas ; possibly a brief period under the Indo-Greek king Menander in the second century B.C. ; another brief period under the Kushanas in the first and second century A.D. ; an even briefer period under the Muslim kingdom of Delhi in the last quarter of the twelfth century A.D. ; a long one under the great Mughals in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. ; a century under the British, 1849-1947.

Though this refers to cultural and political factors, it is a warning that we must not leap to linguistic conclusions too hastily. The early, but probably centuries-long condition in which Sanskrit, a close ally of languages of Iran, was restricted to the northwest (though it was not the only language there) and the rest of India was not Sanskritic in speech, may well have been mirrored earlier by a period when some other language invader from the Near East—a relative of Sumerian or of Elamitic or what

not—was spoken and written in the Indus Valley. It is not ruled out, of course, that this anonymous Near Easterner might have been only one of the languages spoken in the Indus Valley—perhaps that of invaders and conquerors—while the indigenous population spoke another language—perhaps one of the Dravidian stock, or perhaps one of the Munda stock, which is now represented only by a handful of languages in the backwoods of Central India.

On leaving this highly speculative question, we can move on to an examination of the Sanskrit records, and we find in them linguistic evidence of contacts between the Sanskrit-speaking invaders and the other linguistic groups within India.

Whenever two language communities come in contact and remain in contact for any appreciably long period, the languages have some effect upon each other's structure. Borrowing of words in one or the other direction or in both is the most obvious effect. But there may also be a shift of sound systems, borrowing of derivational or inflectional morphemes, or borrowing of syntactical traits.

Sanskrit scholarship in the West soon saw that some of the non-Indo-European features of Sanskrit were Dravidian (or possibly Munda) in type. The retroflex (domal or cerebral) consonants in Sanskrit may be explained for some of their occurrences as being the reflexes of Indo-European consonant clusters of certain types. The fact, however, that the later in Indo-Aryan linguistic history we go, the greater is the incidence of retroflex consonants, and the further fact that most of the Dravidian languages and Proto-Dravidian itself have this type of consonant in abundance (the case is not so clear for Munda, but is in all probability similar), can only lead to the conclusion that the later Indo-Aryan developments are due to a borrowing of indigenous speech habits through bilingualism, and to the well-grounded suspicion that even the early development of retroflexes from certain Indo-European consonant

clusters results from the same historic cause.[8] The same argument applies also to the development of absolutives (otherwise called gerunds) in Sanskrit; this non-finite verb form and its syntactic use are so closely parallel to a feature of Dravidian and so unlike what is found in the other old Indo-European languages that we must certainly posit Dravidian influence here.[9]

Prima facie, it should have been easy to examine the Sanskrit dictionary for possible borrowings from Dravidian. There were, however, several blocking factors. First and perhaps most important was the assumption, usually but not always only implicitly made and seldom argued or supported by evidence, that the Sanskrit-speaking invaders of Northwest India were people of a high, or better, a virile, culture, who found in India only culturally feeble barbarians, and that consequently the borrowings that patently took place from Sanskrit and later Indo-Aryan languages into Dravidian were necessarily the only borrowings that could have occurred. Indian civilization itself, with its enthronement of Sanskrit at the expense of other languages, taught Western scholars to think this way about Sanskrit. Moreover, the early days of Indo-European scholarship were without benefit of the spectacular archaeological discoveries that were later to be made in the Mediterranean area, Mesopotamia, and the Indus Valley. It was but natural to operate with the hidden, but anachronistic, assumption that the earliest speakers of Indo-European languages were like the classical Greeks or Romans—prosperous, urbanized bearers of a high civiliza-

[8] This doctrine is held by, *e.g.*, Bloch, Jules, Sanskrit et dravidien. *Bull Soc. Ling. Paris* 25 · 1—21, esp 4—6, 1925; Some problems of Indo-Aryan philology, *Bull. School Orient. Stud.* 5: 731—733, 1930; *L'Indo-arryen du Veda aux temps modernes,* 53 ff., 325, Paris, 1934; Katre, S. M., *Some problems of historical linguistics in Indo-Aryan,* 135 ff, Bombay, 1944; Prokosch, E., *A comparative Germanic grammar,* 39, Philadelphia, 1939; Wackernagel, Jakob, *Altindische Grammatik* 1: 165, § 144 (a) Anm., Göttingen, 1896, with earlier bibliography, Gundert in 1889, *Ztschr. deutsch. morgenländischen Ges* 23: 517 ff., having apparently the earliest suggestion.

[9] *Cf* Bloch, *Bull School Orient. Stud.* 5: 733—735, 1930.

tion destined in its later phases to conquer all Europe and then a great part of the earth—rather than to recognize them for what they doubtless were—nomadic, barbarous looters and cattle-reivers whose fate it was through the centuries to disrupt older civilizations but to be civilized by them. This was in all probability the event in India as it was in Greece or in the late Roman Empire.[10]

This assumption led in the long run to another block—the methodological tendency of the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century to attempt to find Indo-European etymologies for the greatest possible portion of the vocabularies of the Indo-European languages (see also note 10), even though the object could only be achieved by flights of phonological and semantic fancy. Latin perhaps was the greatest sufferer from this urge,[11] but none of the languages was exempt, and Sanskrit was no exception. It was the less pardonable in dealing with a language spoken and written in India, where even casual inspection of the Dravidian languages would have suggested some borrowings, at least, from Dravidian into Sanskrit.[12]

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10 Mingled with this essentially Europe-centered attitude was that other strand in late eighteenth century thinking, the "romantic" one stressed by Mayrhofer, Manfred, *Saeculum* 2: 54 ff., 1951. It led to Sanskrit being regarded (to use Mayrhofer's phrase) as "die ur-ste aller Ursprachen," as an exemplar of purity and freedom from all non-Indo-European influence. The Indo-European savages, in short, were the noblest of all noble savages. But this, of course, is ethnocentrism all over again

11 *Cf.* Lane, George S., *Lang.* 25: 335-337, 1949

12 The borrowings from the vernacular Middle Indo-Aryan into Sanskrit, when the latter became, as it early did, a hieratic and then a dead language in which speakers of Middle Indo-Aryan languages composed freely, form another portion of the Sanskrit lexicon which must be identified and not subjected to fantastic Indo-European etymologizing Paul Tedesco has made many notable contributions here, but he also is willing to operate with a methodology in which the Dravidian languages do not exist except as borrowers from Indo-Aryan. One example of this is his treatment of words for "belly, stomach" in Sanskrit piṭaka- "basket," *Archaeologica orientalia in memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, 218, Locust Valley, N. Y., 1952. Whatever may be the etymology of Br. piḍ "belly, stomach" (so with Bray, rather than p[h]īḍ with *Linguistic Survey of India*), the Go. pīr id. is rather to be interpreted as going with Te. pēgu, prēgu "entrail, gut, bowel" than as borrowed from an Indo-Aryan *peṭṭa-. More striking is the Sanskrit word mālā- "garland,

The third blocking factor has been for long the general ignorance of and indifference to the Dravidian languages, even among professed Indological linguistic scholars. They must not, of course, be judged too harshly. The Dravidian languages are not easy, most of them are languages spoken by backwoods "primitives" and are badly reported, the four literary languages have enormous literatures ; *ars* (*et scientia*) *longa, vita brevis.*

Finally, a fourth blocking factor has been the general caution of Indo-European scholars when confronted with a substratum situation. In this they were justified, for apart from Basque, the substrata that have been operated with in the study of the history of European languages have been languages that are fragmentarily recorded and badly known (e.g. Gaulish Celtic), not really on record (e.g. Illyrian), or not understood (e.g. Etruscan). In the case of Sanskrit, however, the Dravidian substratum is easily accessible in its dozen or more living languages and in that a Proto-Dravidian can be worked out, given enough scholars interested in the matter.

The end result of the block, however, was that very few scholars attempted to identify borrowings from Dravidian into Sanskrit ; those who were interested worked unmethodically and without establishing criteria for recognition of probable, possible, and unlikely examples, and their results were universally ignored. The Sanskrit etymological dictionary of Uhlenbeck (1898-1899)[13] and the Indo-European etymological dictionary of Walde and Pokorny

wreath," which can be provided with an Indo-Aryan etymology only with the utmost ingenuity (*Jour. Amer. Orient. Soc.* **67**: 85 ff., 1947). The "rope" meanings in modern Indic vernaculars may belong to homonyms, to be etymologized as Tedesco does. But the Sanskrit "garland" word may well be borrowed from the Dravidian group of words given in Appendix 1, etym. 13, which see for details.

13 Uhlenbeck, C. C. *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischen Sprache*, Amsterdam, 1898-1899. He mentions non-Sanskritic languages, though without any detail, s vv. drāviḍī, pallī. Mayrhofer has apparently found several more such instances; *Saeculum* **2**: 55, 1951: "verzeichnet kaum fünf Wörter einheimischer Abkunft."

(1930-1932)[14] completely ignore the work of Gundert (1869),[15] Kittel (1872, 1894),[16] and Caldwell (1856, 1875).[17]

More recent work by Jules Bloch (1925, 1930, 1934)[18] attempted to salvage some items from the early attempts, and in the 40's T. Burrow in an important series of articles (1945, 1946, 1948)[19] attempted to set up methodological principles (see Appendix 1) and suggested Dravidian sources for some five hundred Sanskrit words. Collaborative work by Burrow and myself on a Dravidian etymological dictionary will add more items. The Sanskrit etymological dictionary that Manfred Mayrhofer has just begun to publish in Germany (1953)[20] takes account of this recent work.

It is clear that not all of Burrow's suggested borrowings will stand the test even of his own principles.[21] Much labor will have to be expended by qualified scholars on methods and on the individual items, but it can be safely predicted that the work of these modern scholars will yield

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14 Walde, Alois, and Julius Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 3 v., Berlin, 1930-1932.

15 Gundert, H. *Ztschr. deutsch. morgenländischen Ges.* 23: 517-530, 1869.

16 Kittel, F., *Indian Antiquary* 1: 235-239, 1872; *A Kannaḍa-English dictionary*, xiv-xlv, Mangalore, 1894.

17 Caldwell, Robert, *Comparative grammar of the Dravidian languages*, 565-579, 2d ed., 1875. I have no access to the 1st ed. of 1856.

18 Bloch, Jules, Sanskrit et dravidien, *Bull. Soc. Ling. Paris* 25: 1-21, 1925; Some problems of Indo-Aryan philology: II. Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, *Bull. School Orient. Stud.* 5; 730-744, 1930, *L'Indo-aryen du Veda aux temps modernes*, 322-328, Paris, 1934.

19 Burrow, T., Some Dravidian words in Sanskrit, *Trans. Philol. Soc* 1945: 79-120; Loanwords in Sanskrit, *ibid.* 1946: 1-30; Dravidian studies VII: Further Dravidian words in Sanskrit, *Bull. School Orient. and African Stud.* 12: 365-396, 1948.

20 Mayrhofer, Manfred, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, 1 und 2. Lieferung, Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1953, 1954.

21 One should certainly rule out the Dravidian etymologies given for kúṇāru- and vris-, which occur in one passage each in the Rig-Veda and nowhere else in the whole of Sanskrit literature and are of highly uncertain meaning (*Trans. Philol. Soc.* 1946: 22-23). To provide these with Dravidian etymologies is as futile as to provide them with Indo-European etymologies, which Uhlenbeck did for the former (following Roth, presumably).

an acceptable residue that will at long last be available for studies of Indic linguistic prehistory.

It is possible already to take some tentative steps.

As was to be expected, many of the borrowed items are names of flora and fauna indigenous in India and not elsewhere in the old Indo-European territory, e.g. the fragrant screw-pine, *Pandanus odoratissimus* (App. 1, etym. 1), the cardamom (etym. 2), the house lizard, *Lacerta gecko* (etym. 3), perhaps the peacock (etym. 4), certainly the white ant or termite (etym. 5). Some of these words occur in Sanskrit literature from the epic on ; others are hardly more than items in the lexica (perhaps intended as etyma from which the Dravidian words were to be derived). But words of much more general semantic range also occur, some (e.g. nīra- "water," etym. 6) as early as the epic. We can be sure of Dravidian origin for a few proper names ; e.g. the late Vedic and epic hero Nala seems to have a Dravidian name "the good (or handsome) man," and the southern Malaya mountains have a name derived from the Dravidian *malay "mountain" (etymologies 7 and 8). Even the interjection aye of the dramas probably has a Dravidian origin (etym. 9). It is unexpected to find that kalā- "an art" (epic and later), which has not been provided with an Indo-European etymology, is probably derived from the Dravidian verb kal- "learn," but the suggestion cannot be rejected out of hand and in fact is not unattractive when we remember that India had a high culture before the Sanskrit speakers arrived.

The greatest interest attaches to the items that occur in the earliest Sanskrit recorded, the Rig-Veda. Burrow finds some twenty words, a very mixed lot including the "peacock" word mentioned before and one or two other labels for specifically Indian phenomena. Most of them, however, are much more general ; e.g. khāla- "threshing floor" (etym. 10) and phāla- "fruit" (etym. 11). kā'ṇa- "-one-eyed" is very obviously derived from the negative

adjective ("who does not see") of the Dravidian verb *kāṇ- "see."[22] Most strikingly, bāla- "strength," which has been one of the more certain examples given in the handbooks for the rare Indo-European phoneme *b (though the meanings of the cognates are not really identical), may be derived from the very wide-spreading and ramifying Dravidian family of val- "be strong, strong, strength" (etym. 12); one of the languages in which Proto-Dravidian *v becomes b will have to be involved here. Indo-Europeanists may be inclined not to accept this, unless they are already desirous of getting rid of all examples of the rare Indo-European *b.

If the Rig-Vedic examples, or any of them, are accepted, this is evidence for the presence of Dravidian speakers as far towards the northwest as the Panjab, i.e. the upper Indus Valley, in the first centuries (it is uncertain how many) of the presence of Sanskrit-speakers on Indian soil.[23] It is

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22 The word occurs in Rig-Veda 10.155.1, an Atharvanic charm. It is common in later Sanskrit and has an abundant progeny ("blind" and "blind of one eye") in the Indo-Aryan vernaculars; see Turner, Ralph Lilley, *A comparative and etymological dictionary of the Nepali language*, London, 1931, s.v. kānu. Connection with an Indo-European root (s)qer- "to cut" or with qel- "to stick" is not obviously convincing. The Dravidian etymology is in Burrow, *Trans. Philol. Soc.* 1946: 22; earlier Gundert, *Ztschr. deutsch. morgenländischen Ges.* 23: 521. Not to be derived with Kuiper, F. B. J., *Proto- Munda words in Sanskrit*, 52, from a Proto-Munda *ga-ḍa "defective."

23 This thesis automatically rules out a recent hypothesis formulated by C. von Fürer-Haimendorf in *Proceedings of the 37th Indian Science Congress, Poona, 1950*, Part II: Presidential Addresses, 175-189, esp. 176-180, and New aspects of the Dravidian problem, *Tamil culture* 2: 127-135, 1953. He bases his arguments on the results of excavation at Brahmagiri, in the Chitaldrug District of Mysore State, by Wheeler in 1947 (*Ancient India* 4: 180-310, July 1947-January 1948; for the chronology of the site, esp. 200-202). The prior establishment of a precise chronology at Arikamedu (near Pondicherry) by Wheeler (*Ancient India* 2: 17-124, July 1946) allowed a cross-dating for the Brahmagiri site and the establishment of this tentative chronology: Brahmagiri Stone Ax culture down to the beginning of the second century B.C., "continuing as a dwindling sub-culture through most of the succeeding Megalith phase"; megalithic culture "after c. 200 B.C. to the middle of the first century A.D., overlapping the Āndhra culture"; Āndhra culture from about middle of the first century A.D. to third century. The date for the beginning of the megalithic culture is an extremely tentative one. Wheeler pointed out, moreover, that a specific feature of the megalithic culture at Brahmagiri was the use of cists with "port-holes," that this site is near the northern limit of reported sites with this feature (Hyderabad is so far the farthest north) but that they are found in considerable numbers

not entirely clear evidence for the Dravidian nature of the Harappā language or of one of the Harappā languages ; it does, however, lead towards that hypothesis.

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south to the tip of the peninsula, and that if it were not for the "wide and formidable disparity in date between the Indian cists and their Western analogues [Western Europe, 2500-1500 B.C.], a significant inter-relationship could scarcely be questioned" (183). He added a reference to an early, unverified report of similar cists in the neighbourhood of Karachi (301), desiderated a further search for megaliths in North India, and proceeded to speculate (303-304) on a possible Western origin for the Indian phenomena, with (so far as I can see) a plain warning that Iron Age megaliths of the Indian type are not forthcoming in the Western world at the right period and in the right place, but with the assumption of "the possibility of an integral connection between the port-holed cists of India and those of western Asia and Europe, in spite of the wide disparities of time and place" and an unwillingness to envisage independent origin of the port-holed cists "in regions which, however far apart, have long been interconnected by sea."

Fürer-Haimendorf in the two publications cited at the beginning of this note, and with more certainty and detail in the second than in the first, accepted with hardly a reservation the hypothesis that the megalithic culture was brought to South India from outside India towards the middle of the first millennium B.C. He finds it impossible to conceive that the megalithic, iron-using culture might have been a local development in some area of South India still unexplored archaeologically (as most of South India still is), with some stimulus perhaps from outside; I, not being an archaeologist or an anthropologist, am unable to combat his point of view with any authority. However, I am unable to accept his further hypothesis that the Dravidian languages, or their ancestor, were introduced into India by the bearers of the megalithic culture He finds it impossible that the people with an iron-using, megalithic culture and the neolithic peoples overrun, could have spoken languages of the same family. But this *a priori* position, that peoples of different cultures cannot be linguistically related, is contradicted again and again in the Indo-European and in other fields—e.g. the relations of Latin, Celtic, and Germanic speakers within the Indo-European family in the time of Caesar and Tacitus are notorious. The general linguistic position taken by Fürer-Haimendorf is untenable, and with it falls his contention that North India could never have been Dravidian-speaking To rule out the negative does not, to be sure, provide evidence that North India was ever Dravidian-speaking. But if Dravidian loanwords are found in the Rig-Veda, this is positive evidence which fills this particular vacuum most satisfactorily.

It is regrettable that Manfred Mayrhofer was persuaded (Die Substrattheorien und das Indische, *Germanischromanische Monatsschrift* 34: 233-234 and fn. 9, 1953) by this tenuous archaeological hypothesis to abandon the position that he had taken earlier (Arische Landnahme und indische Altbevölkerung im Spiegel der altindischen Sprache, *Saeculum* 2: 54-64, 1951) on solid linguistic evidence This is not to say that one can agree with all details of Mayrhofer's earlier construction (e.g. too much weight was put on less than satisfactory Munda evidence), but at least in his theory Dravidian speakers were among the early peoples met by the invading Indo-European speakers. It is not quite clear what position he takes in the introduction to his *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* (1953), but certainly he holds that there are Dravidian loanwords to be found in the Vedas (10).

If the Munda languages have been mentioned only in passing, it is not because there were no contacts between Munda speakers and those of the other two language families. The reason is that we know so little that is certain about the Munda family, either descriptively or comparatively. Even the most ambitious attempts at demonstrating borrowings from Munda into Sanskrit have been based on fantastically unsound methods. Although certain Sanskrit words with no Indo-European or Dravidian etymologies might be borrowings from Munda, it seems sounder to ignore the suggestions that have been made, until clear criteria for judging them are at hand (see further Appendix 2).

APPENDIX 1

SANSKRIT BORROWINGS FROM DRAVIDIAN

T. Burrow in *Trans. Philol. Soc.* 1946 : 13-18 set forth criteria for identifying Dravidian words borrowed into Sanskrit. I summarize them, with some comment, as follows : (1) the Sanskrit word should have no Indo-European etymology—it should rather be : no certain or obvious Indo-European etymology ; (2) there should be a wide currency of the etymon in the Dravidian languages and it should be a basic element in the vocabulary ; (3) " a word is shown to be Dravidian in origin if it is clearly to be derived from some Dravidian root " (e.g. candana- " sandalwood tree, ointment " is Dravidian in origin since the corresponding Dravidian nouns cāntu, etc., are specialized derivatives of a verb meaning " to rub into a paste ") ; (4) the word should be of some antiquity in Dravidian (e.g. occurring in the earliest Tamil texts) ; (5) comparative lateness of appearance of the word in Sanskrit (or one may add, appearance only or first in Sanskrit lexica) increases the probability of its being a borrowing ; (6) in each case possible phonetic criteria should be looked for ; (7) likewise, semantic developments can sometimes be taken as criteria. There should be added, possibly as a

corollary to (2), that if the word denotes something peculiar to the Indian geographical or social scene, a Dravidian origin is more probable than an Indo-European one.

Not all these criteria can be brought to bear in all cases. Comparative simplicity and avoidance of the assumption of tortuous phonological and semantic developments should also be aimed at, following the general practice of all disciplines (" Occam's razor "), and may well at times tip the scales for borrowing from Dravidian rather than for an Indo-European etymology that has been suggested.

The etymologies that follow have been referred to in the body of this paper. The sigilla for the various languages and the bibliography are those given in *Lang.* **21** : 184, fn. 1, 1945, and *Bull. School Orient. and African Stud.* **15** : 98, fn. 1, 1953. The following short list gives the Dravidian languages in the order (essentially geographic) in which they are quoted, plus two other sigilla used in the etymologies : Ta. = Tamil, Ma. = Malayalam, Ko. = Kota, To. = Toda, Ka. = Kannaḍa (Canarese), Koḍ. = Koḍagu (Coorg), Tu. = Tuḷu, Te. = Telugu, Kol. = Kolami, Nk. = Naiki, Pa. = Parji, Oll. = Ollari, Go. = Gondi, Kui, Kuwi, Kur. = Kuru*kh*, Malt. = Malto, Br. = Brahui ; Skt. = Sanskrit, Mar. = Marathi.

1. Ta. kaital, kaitai ; Ma. kaita ; Ka. kēdage, kēdige ; Tu. kēdai, kēdāyi, kēdāyi ; Te. gēdāgi " the fragrant screw-pine *Pandanus odoratissimus* " : Skt. ketaka-, ketakī- id. Burrow, T., *Trans. Philol. Soc.* 1946 : 16 : " the diphthong *ai* in the Tamil and Malayalam words is an indication that the word is orginally Dravidian " ; so also the suffix *-ai* in Ta.-Ma. and Tu.

2. Ta. ēlam " cardamom plant, *Elettaria cardamomum* " ; ēla-v-arici " cardamom seed " ; Ma. ēlam " cardamoms " ; ēlatt-ari " cardamom seed " ; Ka. ēl-akki, yāl-akki, yālakı " large cardamoms " ; Koḍ. e·l-akki " cardamom

seeds " ; e·la male, e·lati male " cardamom plantation " ; Tu. ēl-akki " cardamoms " ; Te. ēla, ēlaki " cardamom plant " ; ēlakulu " cardamom seeds " : Skt. elā " cardamom." Kittel, no. 85.

3. Ta. palli ; Ma. palli ; Ko. e paj ; To. pasy ; Ka. palli ; Koḍ. palli ; Tu. palli ; Te. palli, bàlli " house lizard, *Lacerta gecko* " : Skt. pallī, pallikā id. (lexical) ; Mar. palli, popular pāl. Kittel, no. 59 ; Emeneau, M. B., *Univ. of Calif. Publ. Class. Philol.* **12** : 261, fn. 31, 1943 ; Burrow, T., *Trans. Philol. Soc.* 1946 : 10.

4. Ta. mayil, maññai ; Ma. mayil ; Ko. mi·l ; To. mi·s ; Ka. mayla, maylu ; Koḍ. mayli ; Tu. mairu̥ ; Pa. manjil, mañil ; Oll. mañgil ; Go. mal ; Kui meḍu, melu ; Kuwi mellu " peacock " : Skt. mayūra- id. (in two compounds in Rigveda 3.45.1, 8.1.25), mayūrí- " peahen " (Rigveda 1.191.14, an Atharvanic charm). Burrow, T., *Bull. School Orient. and African Stud.* **11** : 608-610, 1945. He discusses Przyluski's Austro-Asiatic suggestion (*Bull. Soc. Ling. Paris* **26** : 99 f., 1925) and shows that Skt. mayūra- is closer in form to the Dravidian series than to the posited Austro-Asiatic *marak or the like. He notes also that *r* in mayūra- instead of *l* is not entirely unexpected in Rigvedic Sanskrit. Further discussion by Jules Bloch. *Bull. Soc. Ling. Paris* **25** : 16, 1925. The suggestion (Walde-Pokorny 2 : 243) of an Indo-European etymology on the basis of connexion with Skt. mímāti " bellow, bleat," māyú- n. " bellowing," Gk. μιμίζω " neigh," etc. is not convincing.

5. Ta. purru, purram " white anthill " ; Ma. purru " ground thrown up by moles, rats, esp. a white anthill " ; Ka. puttu, putta " white anthill " ; Koḍ. putti id.; Tu· puñca id, " snake's hole " ; Te. puṭṭa " anthill, snake's hole, heap, lot, crowd " ; Kol. (Kin.) puṭṭa " white anthill " ; Nk. puṭṭa id. ; Pa. putkal, (NE) puṭkal id., (S) putta " nest inside anthill " ; Oll. puṭkal " white anthill " ; Go. putti id. ; Kui pusi id. ; Kuwi [F] pūci " anthill," pūnja " ants' nest

(earthen) " ; Kur. puttā " anthill " ; putbelō " white ants' queen " (belō id.) ; Malt. pute " anthill " : Skt. puttikā- " the white ant or termite " ; pipīlika-puṭa- " anthill " (pipīlika- " ant "). Burrow, T., *Trans. Philol. Soc.* 1945 : 111. Skt. puttikā- has been taken to be a meaning development from puttikā- " doll, puppet " by Boehtlingk-Roth and Uhlenbeck (" das puppenähnliche tier ") and Monier-Williams (" so called from its doll-like form ") ; this is clearly *ad hoc.* Proto-Dravidian *ṟṟ survives in Ta.-Ma. but develops in two different ways (tt, ṭṭ in different languages. Sanskrit has borrowed from two different Dravidian languages, giving puṭa- and *putta-, both meaning " anthill " or more specifically " white anthill," from the latter of which puttikā- is derived by a Sanskrit formative suffix.

6. Ta. nīr " water, sea, juice, liquor, urine, dampness, moisture " ; (nīrpp-, nīrtt-) " become thin or watery (as liquid food in cooking), be wet, moist " ; nīrmai " property of water, as coldness " ; īr " moisture, wetness " ; īram " wet, moisture, freshness, coolness " ; īrali (īralipp-, īralitt-), īri (īripp-, īritt-) " become moist, damp " ; īrippu " dampness " ; īriya " damp, wet, cold " ; Ma. nīr " water, juice, moisture " ; īram " moisture, dirt " ; īrikka " grow damp " ; īrmam, īrman, īran " damp cloth " ; Ko. ni·r " water " ; To. ni·r " water " ; i·rm " dampness " ; Ka. nir " water " ; īra " moisture, dampness, wetness " ; Koḍ. ni ri " water " ; Tu. nīru " water " ; Te. nīru " water " (literary) ; nīḷḷu " water " ; īmiri " moisture " ; Kol.-Nk. i r " water " ; Pa.-Oll. nīr " water " ; Kui. nīru " juice, sap, essence " ; Br. dīr " water, flood-water, juice, sap " : Skt. nīra- " water " (epic +) ; " juice, liquor " (lexical) ; nīvara- " water, mud " (lexical). Kittel, no. 157 ; Bloch, J., *Bull. School Orient. Stud.* 5 : 739, 1930 ; Burrow, T., *Trans. Philol. Soc.* 1946 : 9. An old Indo-European etymology, that always required faith both in its phonology and in its semantics, has recently been revived with all the apparatus of the laryngeal hypothesis by Louis H. Gray, *Lang* 25 : 376-377,

1949 ; it is hardly convincing *vis-à-vis* the general Dravidian word for " water."

7. Ta. nal, nar-, nalla " good " ; nala (nalapp-, nalant-) " result in good, take a favorable turn " ; nalappu " goodness, benefit, success " ; nalam " goodness, virtue, beauty, profit, fame, prosperity " ; nalavu " goodness " ; narku " good " ; narpu, narram, nanpu, nanmai, nanri, nannar " goodness " (some of these also mean " beauty ") ; Ma. nal " good, fine " ; nalam, nallam " goodness, beauty " ; nalpu, nalma, nanni, nanma " goodness " ; nalla " good, fine, handsome " ; Ko. nal va·yn " one whose mouth smells good, who enjoys food and prosperity " ; na pal " teeth that grow straight and regular " ; To. nas, nasθ "beauty"; naso·n n. pr. of a man ; Ka. nal, nalme " goodness " ; nalla " a good man ; goodness, excellence, beauty " ; Koḍ. nallë " good " ; Tu. nalu, nala " good, cheap " ; nalmè " goodness, friendship " ; Te. naluvu " beauty, ability ; beautiful " ; Go. (M) nelā " good " : Skt. Nala- n. pr. of a man. Emeneau, M. B., *Univ. of Calif. Publ. Class. Philol.* 12 : 255-262, 1943 ; this still seems to me to be a good etymology. Manfred Mayrhofer agrees, *Symbolae Hrozný* 5 : 371, 1950.

8. Ta. malai " hill, mountain " ; Ma. mala " mountain " ; Ko. mal im " buffaloes of the Nilgiri tribes (i.e. mountain buffaloes) "; mal a·ṛ " high downs on western half of Nilgiri plateau " ; To. mas o·ṛ id. ; Ka. male " mountain, forest " ; Koḍ. male " thick jungle land, cardamom plantation in jungle on mountain " ; Tu. malè " forest, hill overgrown with forest " ; Te. mala " mountain " ; Kol. ma·le " hill " ; Pa. malaṅg " forest " ; Br. mash " hill, mountain " : Skt. malaya- " the mountains which border Malabar on the east (i.e. Western Ghats) " (epic +) ; " a celestial grove (Nandanavana) " (lexical) ; " a garden " (lexical) ; māla- " forest near a village ; field " (lexical). Kittel, no. 164 ; also Gundert and Caldwell. The Sanskrit lexicographers derive malaya- from a hypothetical root mal " hold, possess," since the mountain range " contains sandalwood " ! The commentators are wildly at variance

about the meaning of māla- in Meghadūta 16, some taking it as a proper name of a field, others as a common noun; certainty seems impossible, but it is in all probability the word that we are dealing with, whatever its specific denotation in Kālidāsa's verse.

9. Ta. aiya excl. of wonder, of pity or concern; aiyakō excl. of pity or sorrow; ai "wonder, astonishment"; aiy-eṉal "uttering ai expressive of wonder, of distress or mental suffering, of assent"; aiyaiyō excl. of pity or grief; aiyō excl. of wonder, of pity or concern, of poignant grief; Ma. ayyā interj. of derision; ayyō, ayyayyō interj. of grief or pain; Ko. aya· excl. of surprise or grief; aya· ava· excl. of grief; To. eya· excl. of surprise; Ka. ayyō, ayyayyō ayyayyē interj. of grief or astonishment or compassion; Tu. ayyō, ayyayyō interj. of grief, annoyance, or pain; Te. ayyo, ayyō, ayyayō, ayyayyō, ayayō interj. of sorrow, lamentation, pity, pain, etc.; Kui āige, āigo, āigōna, āike, āiko, āikōna interj. of annoyance, impatience, or disgust; Kuwi (S) ījalijō, ījalesa (j = y) "alas"; Kur. ayō, ayō ge excl. of pain or surprise; Malt. aya, ayyi, ayyu excl. of wonder, woe, or joy; ay(y)oke, ay(y)okaboke "alas": Skt. aye excl. of surprise, recollection, or fear (esp. in dramas). In the Dravidian languages these are either vocatives of words for "father" (all the southern languages) or "mother" (Kui- Kuwi, Kur., Malt.), or have in a secondary way been equated with or assimilated to such vocatives; note Ko. aya· ava· "father! mother!" In Sanskrit there is no such connection. An Indo-European etymology might be suggested with such interjections as Gk. *aï*, *ai*, *âiai*, Lith. aĩ, ái, German ei, and Skt. e, ai (both lexical) (*cf.* Walde-Pokorny **1**: 1), but the Dravidian forms are so much more current than the suggested Indo-European etyma that a borrowing from Dravidian seems more plausible.

10. Ta. kaḷam, kaḷaṉ "place, open space, threshing floor. battlefield"; Ma. kaḷam "threshing floor, level space

for spreading grains for drying, battlefield" ; Ko. kaḷm "place for threshing or dancing" ; To. koḷṇ "threshing floor" ; Ka. kaḷa, kaṇa "threshing floor, battlefield" ; Koḍ. kaḷa "threshing floor" ; Tu. kala "a square, bed of flowers, etc., place where pariahs assemble" ; Te. kaḷḷamu "threshing floor" ; kalanu "war, battle, combat, (B) threshing floor" ; Kol. kalave "workshed in field, (Kin.) threshing floor" ; Nk. kaḷave "threshing floor" ; Pa. kali id. ; Oll. kalin id. ; Go. kăṛā "sacred enclosure, threshing floor" ; Kui klai "threshing floor" ; Kuwi (F) kṛanū, kalōmi id. ; Kur. k̲h̲all "field, piece of land suitable for tillage" ; Malt. qalu "field on the hills" : Skt. khāla- "threshing floor, granary" (Rigveda +) ; "place, site" (lexical). Burrow, T., *Bull. Soc. Orient. and African Stud.* **11**: 133, 1943 ; *Trans. Philol. Soc.* 1946 : 9. No Indo-European etymology has been plausibly suggested.

11. Ta. par̤u (par̤upp-, par̤utt-) "ripen (as fruits, grain), grow mature, arrive at perfection, become old, come to a head (boil), change color by age, become pale or yellowish (as the body by disease), become flexible, pliant" ; par̤u, par̤uppu "ripeness, yellowness (of fruits), leaf turned yellow with age" ; par̤unu (par̤uni-), par̤uṉu (par̤uṉi-) "grow ripe, become mellow, mature, be full or perfect" ; par̤am "ripe fruit" ; Ma. par̤ukka "grow ripe, become well-tempered, suppurate, decay" ; "a fruit put to ripen" ; par̤uppu "ripening of fruit" ; par̤uppikka "ripen artificially" ; par̤am "ripe fruit, ripe plantains" ; Ko. paṛv- (paṛd-) "(fruits) become ripe, (boil, sore) opens" ; paṇ "fruit" ; To. pošf- (pošt-) "ripen" ; pum "fruit" ; Ka. paṇ "be produced (ripe fruit)" ; paṇ, paṇṇu "ripe fruit, ripeness" ; Koḍ. paṇṛi "fruit" ; Tu. palkuni, paḷkuni "be very soft (as an overripe fruit), be pliant, flexible" ; parnduni "be ripe, mature, (hair) turns gray" ; parndu "ripeness, ripe fruit, ripe plantains, ripe, gray" ; palu "ripening (as of fruit), half-ripe" ; Te. paṇḍu "ripen, mature" ; "fruit, berry" ; "ripe, mature" ; paṇṭa "produce, crop, fruit, ripening" : Kol. panḍ- (panḍt-) "become

ripe"; panḍuḍ "ripe fruit"; (Kin.) pan "fruit"; Nk. panḍ- "become ripe"; panḍe "ripe fruit"; Pa. panḍ- "(plant) matures"; parñ- "ripen"; pal "ripe fruit, pus"; Oll. parn(g)- "become ripe"; Kuwi (S) panḍu "ripe fruit"; Kur. pānnā (pañjā) "ripen, (boil) festers, have a yellowish appearance (as after a prolonged illness)"; pañjkā "fruits"; Malt. pāne "ripen"; panjek, panjeke "ripe": Skt. phāla- "fruit" (Rigveda+); phalati "bear or produce fruit, ripen" (epic+). Gundert, H., *Ztschr. deutsch. morgenländischen Ges.* **23**: 519, 1869; also Caldwell and Kittel; Burrow, T., *Trans. Philol. Soc.* 1946: 10; Ammer, Karl, *Ztschr. deutsch. morgenländischen Ges.* **51**: 128, 1948; Mayrhofer, Manfred, *Anthropos* **47**: 664, 1952; with some uncertainty Bloch, Jules, *Bull. Soc. Ling. Paris* **25**: 17, 1925; *Bull. School Orient. Stud.* **5**: 740, 1930; Kuiper, F. B. J., *Acta Orientalia* **16**: 305, 1938; the possibility is not even mentioned by Lüders, Heinrich, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift* **42**: 198 ff., 1909. This hypothesis of borrowing is much more obvious than the suggested derivations from Indo-European roots meaning "swell" or "burst" or than Sturtevant's connection with words for "leaf" (*Lang.* **17**: 6, 1941).

12. Ta. val "strong, forceful, skilful"; valam, vallam "strength, power, right side, victory, authority"; vallavan̲, valavan̲, vallān̲, vallāḷan̲ "strong man, capable man"; vallu (valli) "be able"; vali "strength, power"; (valiv-, valint-; valipp-, valitt-) "be strong, compel"; valimai "strength, skill, hardness"; valiya "strong, big"; valivu "strength"; valu "strength, skill, ability"; (valupp-, valutt-) "be strong or hard"; valuppu, van̲pu, van̲mai, "strength, firmness"; valumai "strength, force, violence"; vala kkai, valaṅ kai "right hand"; Ma. val, valu, valiya "strong, powerful, great"; vallu "be able, strong"; valippam, valima "greatness, bigness"; valiyē "forcibly, suddenly"; valam "the right side"; valaṅ kai "right hand"; Ko. val "powerful, very, right"; val kay "right hand"; val(n) "man who is clever at cheating";

valc- " (man) becomes stout, (heart) becomes bold, (grain) becomes solid lump when boiled " ; To. pas̱ " right " ; pas̱ koy " right hand " ; paly- (pals-) "(child) becomes strong"; Ka. bal, bali " grow strong or firm, increase " ; bal, balu, bolu " strength, firmness, bigness, abundance " ; bala " right " ; bala key/gey " right hand " ; balume, balme, baluhu, balpu " strength " ; Koḍ. bala " power, strength " ; balate " right (hand) " ; ballyë " great " ; Tu. bala " strength " ; balatu " the right side " ; balata kai " right hand " ; balāpini " gain strength, recover health " ; balike " prowess, strength, hardness " ; balimè, balumè, balme " strength, might " ; balu " very large, great, severe, violent " ; Te. valāti " clever person, expert " ; vala " right " ; vala cēyi " right hand " ; valadu " much " ; valanu " skill, excellence, possibility " ; " right, possible, convenient " ; valan instrumental postposition ; valamu " largeness, stoutness " ; valūda " stout, large " ; valla " possible " ; vallaḍi " violence, oppression " ; Pa. vela key " right hand "; Go. wăllē " much, very " ; Kuwi (F) braiyū, (S) blāju-gatti (j = y) " strong " ; Kur. balē, balēti " with the help of " : Skt. bāla- " power, strength, might " (Rigveda+) ; balena, balatas " by means of ". The *v*-languages are primary ; *v* > *b* in Ka. beginning in the 9th cent. A.D. Sanskrit may then have borrowed from a Dravidian language with secondary *b*. Kittel, no. 398 ; also Caldwell ; Burrow, T., *Trans. Philol. Soc.* 1946 : 19. Should we perhaps add also the name of the Rigvedic demon valá-, i.e. " the strong one " ? It is just as good a suggestion as the derivations given from IE *wel- " drehen, winden, wälzen " or *wer- " verschliessen, bedecken."

13. Ta. mālai " garland, wreath, necklace, anything strung together " ; malai (malaiv-, malaint-) " wear, put on " (Burrow, " put on as a garland," based on the old text Puṟanāṉūṟu 12, etc.) ; Ma. māla " garland, wreath, necklace, dewlap " ; Ka. māle " wreath, garland, necklace " ; Koḍ. ma·le " necklace, dewlap, jungle cock's ruff or neck feathers " ; Tu. mālè " garland, wreath, necklace " ; Te.

māla id. Burrow, *Bull. Soc. Orient. and African Stud.* **12**: 390, 1948. He notes that Ta. has mālai in the oldest literature (Puṟanāṉūṟu 60, 76) and that the verb malai with a short vowel is just as old and related as a derivative from the noun. The Ka. word is classed by the Ka. grammarians as a *tatsama,* i.e., " a term not borrowed from Sanskrit, but existing in Kannada as well as in Sanskrit " (Kittel's definition) ; this native analysis always may be taken as speaking in favor of Dravidian origin. The Ma.-Koḍ. meaning " dewlap " may possibly also be taken as evidence for mālai as a native Dravidian word. For non-Dravidianists it should be noted that the Dravidian forms are those that a borrowing from Sanskrit would have but are also those proper to a native Dravidian group of etyma.

APPENDIX 2

THE MUNDA LANGUAGES

Identification of borrowings from Munda into Indo-Aryan and into Dravidian engaged several scholars in the 20's and the 30's, notably J. Przyluski and Suniti Kumar Chatterji. This was continued by the publication in 1948 of F. B. J. Kuiper's *Proto-Munda words in Sanskrit* (Verh. d. K. Nederlandsche Ak. v. Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, N. R. 51.3), a very ambitious work. In spite of a few tempting borrowings among those suggested by these various scholars (*cf.* Burrow, *Trans. Philol. Soc.* 1946 : 3-6), there are several factors involved that give a conservative scholar pause.

First, the Munda languages are very poorly known to scholarship. Ambitious grammars and dictionaries have been published of Santali, Mundari, and So·ra· (Sabara or Savara), but, with all deference to the extended efforts and the devotion of the missionaries and the educationists who have worked here, we must judge, I think, that the

intrinsic complexities of the languages of this family are not a suitable field for amateur effort. Extensive prefixing, infixing, and suffixing, make both description and comparison of the languages very difficult, and until we have competent descriptions of several of them, comparisons concerned with borrowing or with genetic relationships within the family and outside it will be hazardous.

The second dubious factor concerning Indo-Aryan borrowing from Munda is that so far those who have tried to demonstrate such borrowings have been dealing not primarily with Munda but with Father W. Schmidt's Austro-Asiatic or with his Austric. Acceptance of the hypothesis that Munda, Khasi, Mon-Khmer, and various other languages of Southeast Asia form a language family to be called Austro-Asiatic can so far only be on a different plane from the scholar's attitude with respect to Indo-European, Finno-Ugric, Turkic, Bantu, Malayo-Polynesian, Algonquian, or Athabaskan. In contrast with these, the material with which Schmidt worked is badly recorded and analyzed, and in spite of some tempting similarities, it is clear that little progress has been made beyond them in the search for phonetic correspondences. The field is one in which accidental similarities are still being found rather than etymologies. This scepticism becomes more pronounced when Austronesian (= Malayo-Polynesian) is brought in to form an Austric family. Archaeologists, historians and prehistorians, and ethnologists concerned with South Asia have erected lofty hypotheses on Schmidt's hypothesis, but the linguistic specialist should know full well what a weak foundation Schmidt has provided and should refrain from erecting his buildings on it.

In identifying Indo-Aryan borrowings from Munda, Austric material has been used to the fullest extent—groups of Austric etyma, including Munda words if they can be found in the badly recorded material, are provided as the bases for the borrowing. How hazardously specula-

tive this procedure can be is clear from a glance at Kuiper's introduction in which are found these statements of his method: (6) "the Austro-Asiatic consonantal system had a relatively small number of phonemes with a wide range of possible realizations, the following sounds, for instance,

$$\frac{d/t \sim dh/th \sim r \sim j/c,\ s}{\underset{\cdot}{d}/\underset{\cdot}{t} \sim \underset{\cdot}{d}h/\underset{\cdot}{t}h \sim \underset{\cdot}{r} \sim {}^{*}\underset{\cdot}{z}/{}^{*}\underset{\cdot}{s}} \sim y \sim l$$

originally having constituted one phoneme"; (7) "another Proto-Munda phenomenon inherited from prim. Austric is the nasalization and pre-nasalization of the consonants of a root"; (7) "the vowels are largely interchangeable . . . the derivatives from one and the same root have often widely divergent forms; e.g. Skr. *tuṇḍa-* and *cañcu-* [both 'beak'] from *da-da, veṇī-, kabarī-* and *āpīḍa-* [the first two 'a braid of hair,' the third 'a chaplet tied on the crown of the head'] from *wa-da-*, . . . From the point of view of methodology this is, I think, the chief difficulty of these investigations, as by a purely mechanical application of the 'sound-laws' nearly everything can be demonstrated." If these are sound-laws (with or without quotation marks), we have got back to the days of Voltaire. No wonder Kuiper astonishes himself by the fact that "nearly everything can be demonstrated." Unfortunately, altogether too many of the Indo-Aryan borrowings from Munda astonish in this way. In addition, much derivation in the Austric languages depends on prefixation and infixation—though it is to be noted that little of this apparatus is so far known by satisfactory comparative methods. If words may be split up and prefixes and infixes discarded somewhat arbitrarily in the attempt to establish groups of etyma, this derivational method and the phonological method sketched above are together unlikely to establish much credence. But even so there are without doubt a few sane etymologies to be salvaged from the work already done, though I do not know how to identify them.

This slight critique of Munda and Austric studies makes clear, I hope, that the prime desideratum in this field is accurate and intensive recording and analysis of the languages concerned. It is only after this is accomplished that the way will be open for valid comparative work and for the establishment of a linguistic prehistory of the kind that is already possible for Indo-Aryan and Dravidian.

Some Further Contacts and Affinities between the Egypto-Minoan and the Indo-(Dravido) Sumerian Culture*

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We are now living at an epoch when the Aryans are erroneously looked upon as the Makers of Civilization. In fact, apart from the fanciful Nazi theories of the Aryan super-man, L. A. Waddell has written a large volume to show that this is so: but I think that his arguments are far from convincing. They are almost "Hess" guesses, having no intrinsic cogency to recommend them. But about the early contacts of the ancient cultures there cannot be any doubt: nor about the simultaneity of their efflorescence. Sir John Marshall rightly contends that the Indo-Sumerian and Egypto-Minoan civilizations constitute a sub-species of culture, having a special relation with one another, a common parent, a common social environment, in the 'Chalcolithic' phase of material technique. This was already diffused, at the simultaneous dawn of these four civilizations, over the whole region, extending from the Atlas to the Himalayas into the Afrasian steppe. He regards this common Afrasian culture of the Bronze-Stone Age as a unity of which each of the four is a mere articulation. Undoubtedly these four cultures had responded in the self-same manner to the identical challenge of desiccation by changing their habitat and way of life alike, from that of food-gatherers into that of cultivators.

When the grasslands overlooking the lower valley of the Nile turned into the Libyan desert, when the grasslands overlooking the lower valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris turned into the Rub'al-Khāli and the Dasht-i-Lut.

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* See *Tamil Culture*, Vol. IV, No. 2, April 1955, for his earlier article on the subject.

when the grasslands overlooking the lower valleys of the Indus and the Mihran turned into the deserts of Thar and Cutch, these heroic pioneers plunged into the jungle-swamps of the valley-bottoms, reclaimed the marshes into fields and created the Egyptian, Sumerian and Indian cultures. An analysis of the oldest relics of human physique in Crete shows that it was first occupied wholly or mainly by 'Long-heads', while the 'broad-heads' were hardly then represented. They were accordingly immigrants from the Afrasian grasslands on the far side of the Eastern Mediterranean. The inexorable challenge of desiccation impelled these communities to brave the terrors of the salt estranging sea and make themselves at home in the Aegean Archipelago. The genesis of the Minoan Civilization can thus be traced back to the same first cause as the geneses of the Egyptiac and Sumeric Cultures. The Indus Civilization is part and parcel of that greater civilization which during the Chalcolithic (or Bronze-Stone) Age extended across the broad Afrasian belt. It is intimately related to other branches of that civilization in Western Persia and Mesopotamia, on the rivers Kārun and Karkheh no less than on the Euphrates and Tigris, even the Helmand. Between them all was a fundamental unity of ideas which could hardly have been the result of mere commercial intercourse.

A. CONTACTS AND AFFINITIES BETWEEN THE INDUS AND MINOAN CULTURES.

The religion of the Indus Culture with its dominant mother goddess, with its male god who performs the same function as the Minoan 'Master of the Animals', besides being Siva's prototype, with its tree-worship and personification of tree-spirits, and with its cult of phallic and baetylic stones, seems to have more points of contact with the Minoan than the Sumerian religion. Nevertheless, the Sumerian and the Indus religions have special resemblances: the conception of the Tree of Life, the fantasy

of mixed and semi-human monsters, and the portrayal of monsters and animals in the role of officient genii, *i.e.*, officiating ones.

In another passage, Sir John Marshall draws a comparison between the effacement of the memory of the Indus Culture from the tradition of the subsequent Indic society and the effacement of the memory of the Minoan Culture from the tradition of Hellas.

The foot of a little bronze statue found at Mohenjo-Daro has an anklet of much the same pattern as on a figure in a fresco at Knossos. A clay amulet at Mohenjo-Daro shows a large tree of uncertain species associated with a cult object at the top of which is an animal's head, with a sprig of flowers or leaves rising from between its horns. The tree has a high platform round its base—a favourite Minoan architectonic device. The sacred tree or cult figure on this amulet reminds one of many such figures found on Minoan intaglio : it appears to be tossing a man over his head, or the man may be vaulting over the animal, as in the sacred bull sports of ancient Crete.

Pottery models of the sacred dove are frequently found in the Indus Valley, set on little pedestals so that they stand upright. Some of these figures exactly resemble examples found at very early sites in Sumer. The dove was held sacred to the Mother-Goddess both in Sumer and in Crete. The same belief doubtless prevailed in the Indus valley, for the method of portraying the bird, with outstretched wings and tail, is identical in all three places. A female figure of clay from Mohenjo-Daro actually has two birds perched on the top of her head, which, as in Crete, doubtless symbolized spiritual possession.

The curious pottery jar, ornamented on the outside with knobs or small female breasts in rows set closely together, resembles early Minoan work. Dr. Frankfort has found similar ware at Tell Asmar in Babylonia. Beads of

unusual shape and other objects found at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro can be linked with those of Crete, Egypt and Greece. The Greek cross with a linear cross in its centre is very common in the Indus Valley. Here, in Sumer and in Crete, a peculiar form of the same cross was used as inlay for pieces of wooden furniture. Intertwined talismanic designs were also popular in the Indus Valley, in Sumer, in Crete and in Egypt. The meander patterns of E.M. III seem to be lateral evolutions of the svastika symbol and have points of affinity with such-like Proto-Indian patterns. Another coincidence or connexion is the Minoan and Mohenjo-Daro delight in hydraulic devices.

B. CONTACTS AND AFFINITIES BETWEEN THE INDUS AND SUMER CULTURES.

One eminent authority holds that the Sumerians, a sea-faring people, navigated the waters of the Persian Gulf, discovered the Delta of the Indus, ascended this river and its companion water-way, the Great Mihran, so like the Euphrates and Tigris, and thus colonized a country so like their own. Thus they created there a new land of Sumer overseas, just as the Minoans created the Mycenean culture of Continental Greece. Whatever truth there may be in this hypothesis, there is no doubt regarding the affinity of the two cultures. Thus Professor Langdon, after a study of the tablets at Jamdet Nasr in Iraq, emphasises the definite connexion between the most archaic Sumerian script and the Indus Valley script. Etched carnelian beads of the same shape and with the same painted pattern have been found at Mohenjo-Daro and Harrappa, as well as in the Royal Tombs at Ur by Dr. Woolley. Some variegated stones, especially those with natural veinings, have been capped at each end with gold, both in Sumer and in proto-India. Several Statues unearthed at Mohenjo-Daro show that, as in proto-Sumer, *fillets* or head-bands were worn round the forehead. These fillets have sometimes holes bored along one edge to enable ornaments to be sus-

pended from them. Fillets ornamented in a similar way, either with a row of dots or with figures of animals, are well-known in early times in Sumer. A bronze pin with a coiled head recalls similar pins found in Sumer, Egypt, the Caucasus and Central Europe. An interesting find of rouge contained in cockle-shells provides a link with contemporary Sumer ; for the same type of shell, used to hold face-paints, has been taken from graves at Kish and Ur.

Certain skulls unearthed at Mohenjo-Daro are of the same type as others of very early date discovered in Mesopotamia. The white steatite head and bust of a god at Mohenjo-Daro has a short beard and shaven upper-lip, in the latter fashion resembling other figures, both of gods and men, found in ancient Sumer. Likewise the peculiar half-shut eyes of the Mohenjo-Daro god has been noticed in some very early clay figures from Kish and Ur. The likeness of a horned human figure with the feet and tail of a bull found on one seal-amulet from Mohenjo-Daro, to a certain Sumerian demi-god is very striking, and appears to indicate that a relationship once existed between certain of the beliefs of the two civilizations. Another type of hero struggling with two tigers found depicted on three seal-amulets at Mohenjo-Daro is singularly like the early representations of the Sumerian Gilgamesh, the friend of Enkidu, who assisted that hero in his struggles with wild beasts, chiefly lions, however.

Both in the lowest levels of Mohenjo-Daro and in ancient Sumer, tin was very much used as an alloy to toughen copper, about 2800 B.C. The copper and bronze of the Indus Valley, like that of the Sumerians, contains an appreciable amount of nickel, and probably came from the Oman district of Arabia. The socketed adze-axe found at Mohenjo-Daro is similar to the socketed implements found in Sumer. The method of casting bronze in the Indus Valley was the wax process, a technique well-known in Sumer and ancient Egypt. The barrel-shaped weight

found at Mohenjo-Daro is like those that have been found in Egypt, Sumer and Elam. The decimal system of notation found on a slip of shell at Mohenjo-Daro occurs on the Proto-Elamite tablets and on others from Jamdet Nasr in Mesopotamia. Ladles made from sea-shells were much used in the Indus Valley and in contemporary Sumer. In the Indus valley were unearthed pottery net-weights which are ring-shaped, very much like a small bracelet. Similar rings of the same date have been found by Dr. Franfort at Tell Asmar with the remains of a fishing net still adhering to them.

The Indus valley grey-coloured pottery, with horizontal marks left by the polisher, is similar to that of Sumer. The tall offering-stand which has a base of trumpet-form and a shallow dish at the top resembles some found at Kish, Ur and Fara in Babylonia. In both cases the stands are made in two pieces carefully luted together. Several feeding-cups with spouts obviously meant for small children, of the same date and shape, have come to light in both Sumer and the Indus Valley. Small flat sherds cut with triangular incisions seem to be fragments of pottery boxes or stands. This type of ornamentation occurs in some of the earliest ware of Egypt, Sumer and Elam. The eyes of all the stone statues made by the Indus Valley people were inlaid with stone or shell, a technique which also prevailed in both Egypt and Sumer. In one figure the arm has been partially freed from the body, a feature which is also observable in some of the Sumerian statues. In both cases the waves of the hair are indicated by chevron lines. In both cases the men wore their hair in the same way, *i.e.*, gathered up in a bun at the back of the head and secured by a silver or gold or woven fillet worn round the fore-head.

Disc-beads of glazed crystal or quartz, similar to some found in the early graves of Elam and Sumer, have also come to light in the Indus Valley. A kind of gaming piece,

made of faience, tetrahedral in shape, is especially interesting in view of the fact that identical objects have been found at Ur. A brick found at Mohenjo-Daro, incised with rectangles in three rows of four, was evidently part of a game-board: but it is uncertain whether the game resembled ancient Egyptian "Sent" or the Sumerian, as found by Dr. Woolley at Ur. He has also succeeded in restoring the remains of several specimens of harps and lyres, which are found as signs in the Mohenjo-Daro script.

Peculiar heart-shaped pieces of bone inlay which have been found at Tell Asmar correspond with the Indus valley shell inlay of the same date. A fragment of a vessel of light-green steatite found in a low-stratum at Mohenjo-Daro has carved on it an unusual mat-pattern, which also occurs on Sumerian vessels unearthed at Tell Asmar, Kish and Susa. A motif of concentric (magical) squares, found at Tell Asmar by Dr. Frankfort, is duplicated in the Indus Valley seals.

The Proto-Australoid and Mediterranean types of skull, which predominate among the Mohenjo-Daro population, must have belonged to a big-brained, dolichoaphalic people. They agree in many ways with skulls found by Dr. Woolley at Al 'Ubaid and by E. Mackay at Kish. The height of the Mediterranean type of male, when alive, was about five feet four and a half inches.

C. CONTACTS BETWEEN THE SUMERIAN AND MINOAN CULTURES.

The Minoan form of lyre, as first seen on seals of the hieroglyphic class, was essentially a derivation from the old Chaldean as found at Tello. The gazelles' heads with which the later Minoan lyres were decorated, find still more remote predecessors in the horned heads of bulls and stags such as adorned the harps of the royal musicians. The sacrificed remains of these animals were found with them in the royal tombs of Ur. The golden sprays of leaves

and flowers that bedecked the head-dresses of departed queens and court ladies at Ur curiously recall the similar adornments found in early Minoan graves at Mochlos and elsewhere. The fantastic semi-human types from which the Minotaur sprang, themselves suggest the monstrous creations that attach themselves to the legends of Gilgamesh and Ea-bãni. So too the two-headed Minoan composite animals are derived from the crossed bulls and lions seen up-reared on the chaldean cylinders. The Bull 'Rhyton' found in Crete from M.M.I. is clearly of Sumerian origin. Directly and indirectly, often indeed through circuitous Nilotic channels, the debt of Minoan Crete to the Sumerian civilization becomes more and more apparent.

The steatite sphinx of Hagia Triada in Crete, with the cup-shaped hollow in its back, is an off-shoot of a distinct class of Chaldean stone-vessels in black steatite. One of these, an ink-pot in the form of a crouched dog, has its surface engraved with cuneiform characters giving the name of King Sumu-ilum, 2204-2176 B.C. The Hagia Triada parallel is likewise an inkstand, the inkpot being lost.

At the beginning of the Middle Minoan Age, a minute form of granulation is shown on such figures as gold lions and dagger blades. This was undoubtedly due to an early wave of direct influence from the East. Granulated decoration also appears on Egyptian jewellery of the 12th Dynasty, *e.g.*, in the Treasure of Dashur : but the Minoan method is not of Egyptian but of Sumerian origin. Large granulation occurs on a dagger-blade at Ur

According to the Cretan tradition, preserved by Diodorus and attested to by Suidas and Pliny [who in H.N.XIII.77 speaks of "in palmarum foliis primo scriptitatum" (Sic)]. Minoan Crete was well acquainted with the use of palm leaves and papyrus for writing purposes, as was ancient Chaldean. *Cf.* A. H. Sayce, *The use of Papyrus as a Writing Material among the Accadians.*

Even the Minoan bull sports starting about 2100 B.C. seen now to be derived from Cappadocian ones, of about 2400 B.C. These again are derived from Sumerian prototypes of about 3100 B.C. The recent discoveries at Ur by Mr. C. L. Woolley have brought to light wells, lined with superposed clay cylinders of about 5000 B.C. This was the origin probably of the Melian (Mycenean) well, lined with clay cylinders, of which the tradition survived in Crete itself. Lastly, the burial vault at Ur affords by far the earliest dated example of the 'tholos' type of sepulchral chamber, domed above by overlapping courses. It was hence probably that the 'tholos' type of tomb came into Crete and other Aegean lands. There is also a remarkable similarity between the Minoan Tower-houses and the Sumerian as well as Indus Valley Tower-houses.

D. AFFINITIES BETWEEN THE EGYPTIAN AND INDUS VALLEY CULTURES.

Besides those casually mentioned in the above sections (A, B and C), we may note the following: The finding of lumps of green substance, identified as terre verte, at Mohenjo-Daro perhaps means that this material was, like kohl, used for the eyes, as was malachite in ancient Egypt. Certain markings on the hull of a mast-less vessel at Mohenjo-Daro suggest that it was made of reeds bound together, a method of building which was used for quite large boats in ancient Egypt. The hemispherical copper or gold terminals of some of the strings of beads found in the Indus Valley have resemblances to those of the Egypt of the Old Empire. A pottery candle-stand is also paralleled in Egypt by several of the same shape and date. In Egypt mussel-shells were 'imitated' from slate and aragonite, in India from copper and pottery.

The affinities between the Egyptian culture on the one hand and the Minoan and Sumerian cultures on the other are shown at great length throughout the great work of

Sir Arthur Evans,* "The Palace of Minos at Knossos". In all these cases the multitude of resemblances in the most unexpected places lends cogency to the argument of a common, though perhaps remote, origin.

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* I acknowledge indebtedness to the above author as well as to— Ernest Mackay: *The Indus Civilization;* Toynbee: *A Study of History,* Volumes I and VI; *The Cambridge History of India,* Volume I; and Plates: Volume I; *The Cambridge Ancient History,* Volume I and Plates Volume I; and Sir John Marshall: *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization,* in three Volumes.

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Translations of Some Well Known Tamil Poems

A NEW YEAR'S GREETING

This Agaval is by a minstrel, known to us as Kanyan or 'Singer' of the flowery hill, who was a court poet and friend of Ko Perum Cholan of Uraiyur—a little, it may be, before the date of the Kural.

See Pura Nanuru 192.

ஞானிகள்

யாதும் ஊரே ;—யாவரும் கேளிர் ;—
தீது நன்றும் பிறர்தர வாரா ;—
நோதலும் தணிதலும் அவற்றோர் அன்ன ;—
சாதலும் புதுவ தன்றே ;—வாழ்தல்
இனிதென மகிழ்ந்தன்றும் இலமே ;—முனிவின்
இன்னா தென்றலும் இலமே ;—மின்னொடு
வானந் தண்டுளி தலைஇ யானாது
கல்பொரு திரங்கு மல்லல் பேர்யாற்று
நீர்வழிப் படூஉம் புணைபோல் ஆருயிர்
முறைவழிப் படூஉம் என்பது திறலோர்
காட்சியிற் றெளிந்தனம் ;—ஆகலின் மாட்சியிற்
பெரியோரை வியத்தலும் இலமே ;—
சிறியோரை இகழ்தல் அதனிலும் இலமே !

THE SAGES

To us all towns are one, all men our kin.
Life's good comes not from others' gift, nor ill
Man's pains and pains' relief are from within.
Death's no new thing ; nor do our bosoms thrill
When joyous' life seems like a luscious draught,
When grieved, we patient suffer ; for, we deem
This much-praised life of ours a fragile raft
Borne down the waters of some mountain stream
That o'er huge boulders roaring seeks the plain
Tho' storms with lightnings' flash from darken'd skies
Descend, the raft goes on as fates ordain.
Thus have we seen in visions of the wise !—
We marvel not at greatness of the great ;
Still less despise we men of low estate.[1]

(*Comp. Kural,* 397 *Pazhamozhi,* 116.)

* * * *

THE 400 LYRICS—PURANANURU

THE COLAN KING, KILLI-VALAVAN, WHO FELL AT KULA-MUTTAM

This king, who (we may infer) possessed considerable ability, was both brave and generous (but somewhat head-strong). Hence a great deal of good advice is, in a very tactful way, offered to him by the minstrels and he seems to have been all the better for it. The following lines are worth noting. They are by Vellai Kudi Naganar.

1 Translated by Dr. G. U. Pope. Published in the Siddhanta Deepika, Vol. VII, No. 1, April 1906.

35. நளியிரு முந்நீ ரேணி யாக
வளியிடை வழங்கா வானஞ் சூடிய
மண்டிணி கிடக்கைத் தண்டமிழ்க் கிழவர்
முரசுமுழங்கு தானை மூவ ருள்ளும்
அரசெனப் படுவது நினதே பெரும
அலங்குகதிர்க் கனலி நால்வயிற் றோன்றினும்
இலங்குகதிர் வெள்ளி தென்புலம் படரினும்
அந்தண் காவிரி வந்துகவர் பூட்டத்
தோடுகொள் வேலின் றோற்றம் போல
ஆடுகட் கரும்பின் வெண்பூ நுடங்கும்
நாடெனப் படுவது நினதே யத்தை, ஆங்க
நாடுகெழு செல்வத்துப் பீடுகெழு வேந்தே
நினவ கூறுவ லெனவ கேண்மதி
அறம்புரிந் தன்ன செங்கோ னாட்டத்து
முறைவேண்டு பொழுதிற் பதனெளி யோரீண்
டுறைவேண்டு பொழுதிற் பெயல்பெற் றோரே
ஞாயிறு சுமந்த கோடுதிரள் கொண்மூ
மாக விசும்பி னடுவுநின் றாங்குக்
கண்பொர விளங்குநின் விண்பொரு வியன்குடை
வெயின்மறைக் கொண்டன்றோ வன்றே வருந்திய
குடிமறைப் பதுவே கூர்வேல் வளவ
வெளிற்றுப்பனந் துணியின் வீற்றுவீற் றுக் கிடப்பக்
களிற்றுக்கணம் பொருத கண்ணகன் பறந்தலை
வருபடை தாங்கிப் பெயர்புறத் தார்த்துப்
பொருபடை தரூஉங் கொற்றமு முழுபடை
ஊன்றுசான் மருங்கி னீன்றதன் பயனே
மாரி பொய்ப்பினும் வாரி குன்றினும்
இயற்கை யல்லன செயற்கையிற் றோன்றினும்
காவலர்ப் பழிக்குமிக் கண்ணகன் ஞாலம்
அதுநற் கறிந்தனை யாயி னீயும்
நொதும லாளர் பொதுமொழி கொள்ளாது
பகடுபுறந் தருநர் பார மோம்பிக்
குடிபுறந் தருகுவை யாயினின்
அடிபுறந் தருகுவ ரடங்கா தோரே.

GOOD COUNSEL FOR THE YOUNG KING (35)

The Tamil Lands

The pleasant Tamil lands possess
For boundary the ocean wide.
The heaven, where tempests loud sway not,
Upon their brow rests as a crown.
Fertile the soil they till, and wide.
Three kings with mighty hosts this land
Divide ; but of the three, whose drums
Sound for the battle's angry strife,
Thou art the chief, O mighty one !
Though the resplendent sun in diverse quarters rise ;
And though the silvery planet to the south decline ;
Thy land shall flourish, where through channels deep.
Kaveri flows with bright refreshing stream,
Along whose banks the sweet cane's white flowers wave
Like pennon'd spears uprising from the plain.
Let me speak out to this rich country's king !
Be easy of access at fitting time, as though
The Lord of justice sat to hear, and right decree.
Such kings have rain on their dominions at their will !
The clouds thick gather round the sun, and rest
In vault of heaven :—So let the canopy
Of state challenge the sky, and spread around
Not gloom, but peaceful shade ! Let all the victories
Be the toiling-ploughman's gain !
Kings get the blame, whether rains fail, or copious flow,
And lack the praise : such is the usage of the world.
If thou has marked and known this well,
Reject the wily counsels of malicious men.
Lighten the load of those who till the soil.
The dwellers in the land protect. If thou do this
Thy stubborn foes shall lowly bend beneath thy feet.[2]

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2 Translated by Dr. G. U. Pope, Balliol College and Indian Institute, Oxford published in Siddhanta Deepika Vol. VII. No. 1, April 1906.

CAMEOS FROM TAMIL LITERATURE

HEROISM OF AN ANCIENT DAME

PURANANURU, 278, by Kakkai Padiniyar Nacchelliar and 279, by Okkur Masathiar.

(The Heroism displayed by this ancient Tamil Dame is simply grand, and would beat that of the Spartan mother. The Purananuru and Agananuru are full of incidents of sublime heroism. The men delighted in the number of wounds they received in the front part of their body, as do the German students now. The conquests made by the Tamil kings were far and wide. We have forgotten all this past now. We take delight in recounting the deeds of other nations. The ancient Tamil martial races are now employed in carrying on the most menial offices. Our ancient swords have been literally beaten into spindles and ploughshares. Our friend wondered how this poor piece of humanity, who could not stand the cross examination of the Government pleader, could have possessed any martial blood in his veins. We hope to set forth now and then in these pages the deeds of valour displayed by our Tamil people, just to remind our readers that we too had a glorious past.)

I

278

நரம்பெழுந் துலறிய நிரம்பா மென்றோள்
முளரி மருங்கின் முதியோள் சிறுவன்
படையழிந்து மாறின னென்றுபலர் கூற
மண்டமர்க் குடைந்தன னாயி னுண்டவென்
முலையறுத் திடுவென் யானெனச் சினைஇக்
கொண்ட வாளொடு படுபிணம் பெயராச்
செங்களந் துழவுவோள் சிதைந்துவே றாகிய
படுமகன் கிடக்கை காணூஉ
ஈன்ற ஞான்றினும் பெரிதுவந் தனளே.

She was very old, her veins stood out and the bones protruded. She heard many people give out that her son had turned from the battlefield and fled. She vowed that if it be true that her son was afraid of battle, she would cut off the breast that suckled him. With fury in her face and sword in hand, she turned over the dead bodies in the red field and searched and she came across the dead body of her son cut in two. At sight of her dead son, she rejoiced more than on the day she gave him birth to.[3]

II

279

கெடுக சிந்தை கடிதிவள் துணிவே
மூதின் மகளி ராதல்தகுமே
மேனா ளுற்ற செருவிற்கிவடன்னை
யானை யெறிந்து களத்தொழிந்தனனே
நெருந லுற்ற செருவிற் கிவள் கொழுநன்
பெருநிரை விலங்கி யாண்டுப்பட் டனனே
இன்றும் செருப்பறை கேட்டு விருப்புற்று மயங்கி
வேல் கைக்கொடுத்து வெளிதுவிரித் துடீஇப்
பாறு மயிர்க்குடுமி யெண்ணெய் நீவி
ஒருமகன ல்லதில்லோள்
செருமுக நோக்கிச் செல்கென விடுமே.

Our heart ceases at this dame's great courage.
Well may she merit her ancient age.
In a former war, her father it was
Who, killed by an elephant, died in the field.
It was in the other day's battle, her husband
Fell overpowered by numerous hosts :
And now to-day at the beat of drum,
Delighted and yet how sad was she this woman with an only son.
She lovingly oiled and combed his hair,
Gave him his spear and bade him seek the battle field ![4]

J. M. N.

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3 Translated by J. M. Nallasami Pillai and published in Siddhanta Deepika Vol. VII, No. 7, October 1906.

4 Translated by J. M. Nallasami Pillai and published in Siddhanta Deepika Vol. VII, No. 7, October 1906.

A Note on Tamil Syntax

NHATTIN:AI 55

—KAMIL ZVELEBIL, Prague.

In two different articles, published in Archiv Orientalni, XXIII, 1955, pp. 435-464 and pp. 479-481 (cf. especially p. 448 ff.) the author has tried to show the great importance and the general validity of a grammatical principle of Tamil, which can be expressed schematically by

d D,

i.e., *determinans precedens determinatum*; that, which determines (i.e., d), precedes that, which is determined (i.e., D).[a] The author has tried to show that this principle rules the sphere of morphological structure of the Tamil finite verb forms[b] as well as the sphere of sentential structure.[c]

When reading and analysing an early old Tamil stanza, Nhattin: ai 55, we have come across the verses :

ஓங்கு[1] மலை[2] நாட[3]...(நீ)...வந்து[4] இவள்[5]...ஆகம்[6]...புல்ல[7]...
பறவை[8]...மொய்த்தலின்[9] கண்[10]...நோக்கி[11]...என[12]
வினவினள்[13] யாயே[14]...

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[a] Cf. H. Beythan, Gramatik der. Tamilsprache, Leipzig 1943, p. 178, § 175, an enumeration fairly complete, and J. Bloch, Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes, Paris, 1946, p. 77.

[b] The Tamil finite verbal forms have been explained by the author as, e.g., ceyve:n=ceyvu ("the future doing") +ya:n (" /"I"), i.e., "I determined by the future doing", cf. also F. B. J. Kuiper in Acta Orientalia XX, 1948, "Note on Dravidian Morphology".

[c] That, which is most important in Dravidian sentence, the finite verbal form, is placed, as a sort of determinatum, at the end of the whole sentence (this finite verbal form, this determinatum, being determined by a whole series of determinants in the form of adverbial and infinitive participles, functioning as Indo-European verbal forms in secondary clauses). Cf., also P. Poucha, The Syntactical Relationship of Some Asiatic Languages, Archiv Orientalni, XVII, 1949, p. 268.

which precisely though not literally translated means: " O chief[3] of high[1] mountain[2].... (thou) hast come,[4] (and) when thou embraced[7] her[5] breast,[6] the bees[8] have been swarming[9] (and this) having seen[11] mother[14] (with her own) eyes[10], asked[13] thus[12].... "

Analysed, however, in detail, and translated literally, it runs thus: ".... (thou) having come,[4] when embracing[7] her[5] breast,[6] the mother[14] asked[13] thus[12] having looked[11] (with) eye[10] *determined by* (*-in,* an original determinative suffix) the swarming[9] bees[8]." The form *moyththalin* though traditionally explained as some form having temporal (" when the bees swarmed.... ") or causal (" since the bees swarmed, " comm. *moyththalina:le* :, " by, through the swarming of bees ") meaning, is nothing else than *moyththal,* a verbal noun, " swarming ", + – *in,* the determinative suffix, identical ultimately with the attributive suffix – *in,* well-known from all stages of Tamil linguistical developments. Thus, the old syntactic construction as found in Nhattin:ai 55, helps us to understand the original meaning of such forms as *moyththalin,* and it proves again, the " nominal " and " attributive " character of old Tamil syntax.

patavai....moyththalin kan: means, ultimately, " bees-swarming attrib. eye," " eye of the swarming of bees," " eye (taking the sight of) the bee-swarming," where d, determinans (*patavai moyththalin*) precedes the D, determinatum (kan:). Whole sentential structures appear, in the light of this analysis, as determinative compounds, as clusters of determinants, combined by the d D principle.

Kamban's Modernism[1]

A. C. PAUL NADAR

We have gathered together to study and understand Kamban's great poem and to popularise it. But, we know very little about his life. All that we know is that he was born in a village called Therezhundur in the District of Tanjore and was a Ovachar by a community, a community of temple poojaris and pipers. He was patronised by a philanthropic gentleman, Sadayan by name. Tradition has gathered round the names of the poet and his patron a number of legends of little historical value. About his age, there is disagreement among scholars. My research has led me to the conclusion that he must have lived at the time of the fall of the Pallavas and the rise of the Cholas under the line of Vijayalaya. That was a period of great activity in religion, literature and art, untouched by the philosophy of the later Vaishnava Acharyas or the hard theology of the commentators on the Alwars written in Manipravalam[2] style. Kamban, then, belonged to the end of the 9th century or the beginning of the 10th century.

For the last 1,000 years, Kamban by his sonorous and rythmic verse has captured the ear of the Tamil people. Wherever he is sung, either under the banian tree or in the

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[1] Presidential address delivered by Mr. Paul Nadar at the Kambar Conference held in the Rajaji Hall, Madras, on November 14, 1955, in the presence of Mr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Republic of India, who inaugurated the Conference. Mr. Paul Nadar has kindly forwarded it to us for publication in *Tamil Culture*.—Editor.

[2] An artificial and generally unintelligible style, predominating in Sanskrit words but in the superficial form of Tamil prose, adopted by commentators of the Jaina and Vaishnava religions. A commentary of this type on Saint Nammalwar's Thiruvaymoli in Tamil, written by Vadakku Thiruveethi Pillai consisting of thirtysix thousand granthas and known as ஈடு (I:T:U), is being rendered back into intelligible Tamil by Mr. B. R. Purushotama Naidu under the auspices of the University of Madras.—Editor.

village chavadi, you can be sure of a large concourse of people listening in profound silence and deep enjoyment. Such is the magic of his words. He has given delight and instruction to thousands of people including illiterates. People who cannot read a line often repeat his verse with gusto.

The vastness of Kamban's learning and the beauty of his diction, the simplicity of his style and the profundity of his thought, his wonderful portraits of men and women at all stages of culture, his powers of dramatization and his sense of humour, his deep knowledge of the past and his prophetic vision of the future and his keen understanding of the fundamental problems of life, all these make his Ramayana a unique piece in Tamil Literature. Every Tamil ought to be proud of this treasure. Yes, if Kamban's real merit is known, the whole of India would claim him as one of its mighty sons.

Some people are not attracted to Kamban's poem ; they complain that his theme is puranic old-world story, ill-suited to present day conditions. But all students of Kamban know how the poet combines the idealism of puranic stories with the realism of the present day. He is indeed a guide to the understanding and the solution of many modern problems. He lived at a time when society was feudal in structure and kingship was the order of the day. Kings were then deified by poets and saints ; and the divine right of kings was universally accepted. It was generally agreed then that kings were everything and the people were nothing. But Kamban sings in a revolutionary strain and says that the ruler of the country is a mere 'body' and the people of the country are its 'life'. This shows what a prevision he had of our modern democracies, where the ideal is the withering of the rulers and the flowering of the rule of the people. We have now accepted the socialistic pattern of society as our ideal. Kamban had a similar vision. He says that in the idealised society of

Ayodhya, wealth was available to all, and there was nobody who could be considered either wealthy or poor :

" எல்லார்க்கும் எல்லாப் பெருஞ் செல்வமும் எய்தலாலே
இல்லாரு மில்லை உடையார்களு மில்லை மாதோ "

He has a ready-made solution for the eradication of casteism, condescension and communalism from our midst. The way Rama fraternizes with the untouchable Guha is the best solution that we can think of. Rama offers kinship of his family not only to Guha but to his entire tribe and proposes to share in their work. Kamban teaches us how to harmonise differences and resolve conflicts and strifes. He reconciles the Sanskrit Culture of the North with the Tamil culture of the South. He harmonises Vedic with secular culture and the aristocratic with that of the common man. In his illuminated outlook on life, differences disappear. His broad tolerance has charity for all and malice for none. His penetrating and far-seeing eye sees unity in variety. That is a lesson which we with the 14 national languages and a composite culture have to take to heart.

Kamban reached the height of his art in the creation of his hero. The poet took the whole universe for his vision and looked beyond the visible and concrete and apprehended the Absolute. But his apprehension was not that of a metaphysical philosopher but of a seer and an artist. He concretises the intangible in the image of his hero Rama. His hero is none other than the ultimate reality itself ; that great immanent and transcendent power, incomprehensible to our mind and beyond the sweep of our imagination, that pervades all things but not confined to any one thing. He is the thought of ages and the goal of humanity, taking the form of man. As Alwars before him tried to localise the Absolute in shrines and temples, Kamban finds the Absolute in his ideal hero. But this god-man is not free from the human limitations and sorrows which he has to face in common with ordinary mortals. The poet describes how, even with such limitations, he radiates love all round.

Kamban seizes on a supreme saying of Thiruvalluvar who preceded him by some centuries :

அன்பின் வழிய துயிர் நிலை

and expounds how it works in the world of Rama. Life without love is dead ; the way of love is life. Kamban describes how Rama loves not only his brothers as his own life, but also an untouchable, a monkey and a Rakshasa as his brothers. Such universal and catholic love brings into one fold all kinds of people who in turn not only love each other but their enemies also.

Mere profession of love and affection, however, will not save society ; it must show itself in action ; that is, in 'tyaga' or self-sacrifice. Bharatha is the model of such sacrifice. It is the sacrifice of every one of us that keeps alive the world. Without self-sacrifice, nothing worth having will live. Such is the lofty teaching of this great poet whom we honour today. May his glory live for ever.

A Short Lay of Minstrels*

Translation by

SRI V. KANDASWAMI MUDALIAR, B.A., L.T.

Cirupanattuppadai, a Sangam poem written by Idakkali Nattu Nallur Nathathanar.

Towering in shades of purple and blue, hill on hill rose ;
The mountain-stream, in sparkling cascades falling, swirled fast
Between two shoulders of the hills ; and in ripples silvern
Flowing, looked like a garland of colourful pearls
Lying limp between smooth, rounded shoulders, and full firm breasts
Of the fair Damsel-earth[1] lying in an abandon seductive ;
And swelling into a river full and flooded,
The rushing waters rammed against the falling banks
Fringed with groves flaming with flowers
Perfume-filled. And Koels[2] in their leafy shelter tore
With beaks the fresh flowers from their branches, and scattered
The colourful petals on the black rippled sands.
And the sable bank thick with them, a little frayed
In the ascending sun, looked like the outspread tresses
Raven-black of Damsel-earth decked with flowers.
Like a moving bed of flowers the travelling minstrels,
Man and woman, strong and fair, colourfully arrayed,
Took the path of the river on their eager march
To the far-famed court of peerless Nalliakkodan[3].

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* The translator does not give a too literal version, and in many places he differs from the commentator. May we suggest to the traditionist that this even then has its value as an adaptation reminding us both of ancient Tamil ideas and modern English poetry.—*Editor.*

[1]Mother-earth.

[2]Indian cuckoo.

[3]The king of Oimanadu, in Thondaimandalam; this was bounded by Kalashti in the north, by Pennar in the south, east by Bay of Bengal and west by Tiruvannamalai.

The Belle of the minstrel party, tender of foot
And gait graceful, treaded wearily her way
On the soft sandy bank littered with lance-sharp shingle.
Hill and dale, groves fair and fields green they left far behind,
And reached the wilderness of burning sand and rays fiery.
The minstrel Belle, her tender feet torn and bleeding
Through the gravels of the burning road, sought shelter
Of the lineal shade of tall Kadamba[1] trees
On the endless road of the sandy, dry woodlands,
Whose fields were parched up and whose tanks had grown dry.
She of rare grace of womanly perfections was dowered
Richly with feminine charms of rhythmic curves
And soft supple undulations ; her perfumed tresses
Of sapphire-blue sheen, rippling down her towering neck
And fragile waist, looked like a dusky screen-cloud against
A gold-canopied evening hill. And smitten
With shame at her willowy gait, peacocks hide
To hide in one another's train aglow with ocelli
Blue and green ; her bare ankles slender, knit strong
Ended in well-chiselled feet whose pink soles
Looked like drooping tongues of tired dogs ; and her shapely legs
Full and firm, at every step, looked like the trunk
Lusty and trailing of a cow-elephant ; while her thighs
Lusty, olive-fair, one against another, full, firm and smooth
Challenged the trunks of plantain trees of the cool hillside.
Her firm breasts, chloasma-mantled, were as fair and full
As vengai[2]-flowers, round which banded-bees hummed sweet
Their minstrelsies ; nay, they in their rounded perfection
Challenged the blooming buds of Kongam[3] of dawn ;
Her row of pearl-white teeth surged with the dew sweet
As juice of breast-shaped tender kernels of palm.

1 Wendlandia Notoniama (bot).
2 Pterocarpus indicus.
3 Chlospermum gossijpium

She was chaste as mullai[1]-buds by the forest-path,
Which is abloom with Kanjankullai[2]-flowers, as fair
As pearly teeth of a damsel; and when the Belle
Of soft swaying gait, of fawn-look and of forehead
Bright and chaste like flashing stainless steel rested,
Her pages guileless caressed her feet fair and soft.
"Hail, brother-harpist! urged by smiting poverty,
Which has embittered life, you master-lutanist
Seek the bounty of the king from whom we, laden
With gifts, are returning. You will in his great court
Waken to matchless melody the golden chords
Of the small-harp pillowed against your left shoulder.
Your path lies across domains great and prosperous
Of kings and chieftains famous for their gracious bounty;
You will pass through the kingdoms of the three kings great
Of Chera, Chola and Pandian lands and of chieftains
Seven and princely—Pegan[3], Pari[4]; Kari[5], Aai[6],
Nalli[7], Athigan[8], Ori[9]—and I shall describe,
For your guidance, those lands of kings and chiefs.
"The flooded fields are starred with lilies of languid petals;
Fishes gambol stirring their green glassy waters to silver ripples;
The buffalo of a wide muzzle foraging for food
Crushes the carps[10] under its firm heavy tread;
And maw-crammed with lilies, it seeks the cool shade
Of jack-trees mantled with trailing pepper-creepers;
And to the caress of its back by leaves soft of turmeric,
It chews slow the cud to the dripping of honey
Immature from the lilies, and lapses to sleep
On a soft floral bed of wild-jasmines snow-white.
Such is the fertility of the western lands

1 Jasmine.

2 White basil—Ocimum album.

3-9 Seven chieftain kings famed for their bounty. ref. lines 146, 154, 162, 169, 174, 180, 187.

10 Carp—a fresh-water fish.

Over which Cheran-Senguttuvan[1] holds his sway !
May, with his large host valorous of lancers,
Bowmen, chariots and tuskers, he had brought low
The enemy kings of the distant North, and planted
His victory-bow on the blue towering heights
Of the snow-capped Himalayan-hills of the North.
Vanchi[2] of river-wide yawning gateway
Is the capital of this Kuttuwan[3], heroic
Of shoulders and the lord of speeding war chariots.
You brother-harpist, are wending your weary steps
To the court of Nalliakkodan whose capital
Is greater, and whose lands are richer by far.
Black baboons-laurelled with pith-garlands
Beside their ears and with red breasts as if craftsmen
Cunning had chiselled to shape the wood of Nuna-tree[4],
Full-grown and abloom with honey-dripping flowers—
Travelled in the caravan carts of salt-vendors
Of well-turned necks ; and their wives of silken tresses,
Which, without having been made into any one
Of five-fold knots, hang down their willowy waists,
And wave in the wanton wind. And these fat-baboons
Jubilate with their children of beaming anklets
Golden, by sounding the rattle improvised of sea-shells
Pearl-hearted, and of serrated edges. And such
Is the prosperity of Korkai[5] on the shores
Of the eastern blue seas of towering waves.
And the Pandian-king, coming of the long line
Of the guardians of the southern Tamil country,
Marched against his foes, and captured their wide domain.
And he holding sway under the regal shade
Of his white umbrella of victory, tasselled

1 King of the Chera country (present Malabar). Brother of Il:anko, the author of the Song of the Anklet (Silappadikaram). He marched with his forces to the Himalayas to bring a stone to carve the idol of Kannaki, the heroine of Silappadikaram.

2 வஞ்சி Sea-port of the Chera-country.

3 Cf. 1.

4 Morinda citrifolia.

5 கொற்கை Sea-port of the Pandian kings.

With pearls gleaming ; he crowned with laurels of victories ;
And he the lord of wind-speed war chariots, is the king
Of Madura, the eternal home of Tamil,
The peerless tongue of antiquity, and far-famed
For the amplitude of its street of jubilant crowds.
And this Madura is lesser than the great realm
Of Nalliakkodan, to whose city far-famed
You, brother-harpist, are marching with weary steps.
Kadamba[1] trees, umbrageous and aglow with flowers,
Girdle dense the banks of green tanks of placid waters ;
The laurels of these trees drop their stamens and pistils
About the watering-steps of tanks ; and they
Lying scattered look like rangoli[2] done in gold
And vermeil-red. To the rays of the golden sun
Rising in the orient, lotus buds, lusty as breasts
And favoured of gods, open their fair petals.
Dragon-flies sleep for the night in the coronae
Golden, walled round with petals pink as
Vermeil-dyed palm of a damsel ; and they, after
Resting in the sweet embraces of their partners
Life-guarding, waken with the dawn, and with amour filled
Hum with surge of their wings their madrigals,
Round the honey-cups of lotus flowers surging
In the wide fields that girdle far-flung Uranthai,
The Capital of the Chola King Sembian. And he,
The guardian of realms lying on the western shores,
And great in the might of his arms hero wristleted,
Marched against his enemies, razed their ramparts
Of high-reaching gateways to such low heights that bulls
Bellowing, scratched their itchy necks against the low dead walls.
And he is far-famed as the master of chariots stately
And of warriors valorous, who from the battle thick

[1] Wendlandia Notoniaina.

[2] This is the floor-decoration of loops and curves done in white or colour powder, by Hindu women.

Will not fluce. And this Uranthai looks small before
The far-famed capital of Nalliakkodan's realm.
Pegan was a chieftain of hills whose cloud-canopied peaks
Tower to shadowy heights and whose fertile sides
Overflow with cool mountain streams. Descending from
Ancient Avias[1] his brawny shoulders beam with the might
Of smiting his enemies. When a blue peacock
Of his fertile hillsides apprised by its sharp cry
Of rain-harbingering clouds, he was so pleased
That he gave his regal mantle to it as a scarf.
Pari, famed in classic lore for his charity
Boundless, was the lord of the purple Parambu-hills,
Which echo with the rushing waters of Ori,
The hill-stream, which in cascades leaps over shelvy sides.
He helped his ivory chariot, wrought luxuriously
With vermeil and gold, as a stay to the mullai[2]-creeper
Which swayed helpless on the road lined with naga[3]-trees
Round whose flowers banded-bees hummed their madrigals.
Kari, beaming bright with circling hero-wristlet,
Was a terror unto his foes, who quailed with fear
At his death-dealing lance, and who under his rage
Towering cowered. But to the minstrels he was a prince
Of sweet winsome grace, who staggered the world by the gift
Of all his lands with his steed, of rippling white mane,
That was decked with a bridle of sweet-chiming silvern bells.
Aai of shoulders brawny through wield of bow, and perfumed
With sandal paste was of such sweet enrapturing grace
Of words and gifts, that he offered to the deity
Templed under the banyan-tree the cast-off skin
Of a king-cobra of a beaming blue-black hue.

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1 ஆவியர்

2 Jasmine.

3 Naga trees— சுரபுன்னை

Athigan is he who gave to Avvai[1] the fruit of nelli[2]
Black and beautiful—the elixer vitae—of the tree
That grew on the sides of his majestic blue hills,
Colourfully carpeted with perfume-filled flowers.
And he wields his long lance flaming with fiery wrath,
And is the lord of a force wide as surging seas.
Nalli, the lord of hills towering peak on peak,
And where the rains drizzle in sparkling silver drops,
Through his unebbing generosity, gladdened
The hearts of those who sought his bountiful friendship ;
And with his lusty hands, famed with the might of war
In the enemy's field of battle, he bestowed gifts
So generously that they knew no future want.
Ori the master of a horse of silken mane
Snow-white battled down Kari of steel-blue steed. And he,
So famed in war, gave as gift to minstrels his lands
Fair, of low-lying hills bristling with naga-trees
Of crowded branches flaming with perfumed flowers.
Not one of these seven bounteous chiefs is as great
As Nalliakkodan in his generosity.
And he of war-famed strength of well-knit lusty limbs,
To the beam of his fame in the wide world, girdled
By vasty seas, bears now and lone the heavy yoke
Of an endless giver of gifts, instead of those
Bounteous chiefs of adamantine shoulders, who smote
Their ever-rising foemen ; he is greater
Than all the kings of Ceylon broad, ancient and of fame
Unfading ; of Ceylon of sea-rammed shores, and famed
Even on the day of its foundations firm ;
And he is greater than those of Ceylon kings
Who helped the damsels of rounded shoulders gambolling
In the waters of the sea with Naga-[3]wood
Of fragrant flowers, eagle[4] and sandal-wood as floats.

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1 ஔவை

2 நெல்லி Emblica officinalis—goose-berry.

3 Cf. line—160.

4 அகில்—eagle or akila wood or aloe or agila wood=aquilaria ovata.

On the day of our grinding poverty, with eager hearts,
We approached this Nalliakkodan, who wields in war
His stainless sword, and who is as strong of limb
As a sinewy tiger and who comes of Avia—line.
His fame is so great that in cowardly retreat
He had never turned his hero-ankleted feet,
Covered with indurations of riding his war-tusker.
We approached him of lusty hands, as famed as the rains
Bounteous, through gifts of herds of elephants to minstrels
Of diverse musical instruments ; and we sang
Praises of his unsurpassable lineage and also
Of his sire's plenitude of lands of soaring hills.
In those days our cold hearth, overgrown with mushrooms
Hollow-stalked, looked dismal with the bamboo falling
From the thatch, and with aged walls gnawed by white-ant hosts.
Our gloomy fire-place echoed with sharp muffled bark of the bitch,
Famished and newly littered, which spurned, unable to bear
The pain of blind pups of folded ears feeding at her dry breasts.
And we, for fear of the curiosity of tell-tales, barred
The doors of our fire-place ; and our tambourine-girl
Of slender waist, swaying with pain of gnawing hunger,
Picked wit hunclipped nails, to the jingle of conch bangles,
The velai-greens growing on the dust-shoot ; and we,
Cooking it even without salt to savour, shared
With our dusky kindred large, and thus our hunger
Gnawing mitigated in those indigent days.
" And we now are returning from Nalliakkodan,
Laden with his gifts of stately chariots, and tuskers
Small-eyed, ichor shedding, terror-striking and decked
With chiming bells to apprise people before and behind.
And you also, brother-harpist, now distressed with the want
Of your own and of your large dusky kindred, will seek

With a heart guileless the bounty of such a king.
The towering waves of the surging blue seas ram
Against white sands ; your path lies by such a shoreland,
Where aloes abloom with swan-shaped flowers ;
Where early spring flowers of gold-mohur trees
Vie with gold in colour and seem to cheat the eye ;
Where the lusty mature buds of musundagam[1]
Bloom with sapphire-blue sheen ; where long-stalked punnai[2] buds
Hang like bewitching garlands of the pearls of the sea.
If after long march, you reach the song-famed shore-land town
Of Eilpattinam[3] of ice-cool tanks, and famous
For its towering ramparts girdled by moats of blue waters,
You will meet the good-wives of the shoreland, who will
Raise flaming—red fire and dusky blue smoke curling,
Of akil[4] wood, brought by the towering sea-waves,
And heaped up to the height of ruminating camels.
And these damsels of lusty shoulders, of lance-mortal looks,
And of such a spotless beauty of face that the moon
Is smitten with sorrow for want of such a beam,
Will serve mature toddy to men of the shore-land.
If tuning your lyres to the dance-measure of minstrels
Fair and of sweet-toned flues, you go singing praises
Of the lord of Kidangil[5] beaming beautiful
Like his flower garland, and who is the lord
Of groves thick with trees of flower laden boughs,
You will get at every hamlet the poached meat
Of corned kuzhal[6] fish of their fresh-water tanks.
On your way to Veloor the red bean-nuts hang fair
Like threaded coral wreaths ; Kayan[7] thickets surging

[1] Leather berried buid-weed. Rivea ornota.
[2] Calophyllum Inophyllum.
[3] Eilpathinan, Veloor, and Amoor were important towns.
[4] Akil = அகில் or eagle wood.
[5] கிடங்கில்
[6] குழல்
[7] Eugenia bracteata.

With sapphire-blue buds bloom like a flock of peacocks ;
Musundai[1] flowers hang like spindles on their boughs
Umbrageous ; and bunches of Kanthal[2] flowers open
Like the pink fingers of a fair damsel ;
And in the long devious path of the kitchen garden
Velvet mites of red vermilion hue creep slowly.
Its hills are girdled by fair woodlands embowered
With white mullai flowers chaste as home-templed wives.
Turning your steps to west, where the opulent glow of the sun
Fades behind hills, whose sides sparkle with silven streams
Leaping from cove to cove, you will reach Veloor.
If you reach Veloor, bright with tanks filled with flowers
Of petals sharp as smiting lance, and which is famed
For its triumph through wield of triumphant lance, matrons,
Of the woodlands, avoiding the blazing sun
For their no less fiery huts, will serve you sour-rice
Delicious, hot from fire with roasted venison
For your refreshment, and of your women of tender
Mango-leaf complexion ,decked with wristlets but few.
Fragrant flowers of drawn hang in wreaths on thickset
Kanchi-tree on whose bough perched, the blue king-fisher
Of golden beak keeps long vigil, gazing into
The fathomless tank, and then picks up a stenchy minnow,
When the lotus leaf broad is torn by its long beak.
Ruby-eyed blue bees buzz round the honey cups
Of morning flowers of bristle-stalked lotus plant ;
And the bees circling round the white flowers look
Like the shadowy serpent—Ragu[3]—round the sun.
Such are Amoor's agricultural lands of cool fields.
Its cities wide are stoutly guarded, its priests
Pious dwindle not, and its warehouses are cool and beautiful.

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1 Cf. 1. 245.

2 Gloriosa Superba.

3 Ragu—it is an Indian belief that the serpent Ragu causes the eclipse of the sun by swallowing it.

You will rest in its hospitable villages ;
And when you seek to leave the place, you will be barred
By children urged by their mothers of wristleted arms,
And of braids of sapphire-blue sheen, stout as trunks
Of cow-elephants, hanging down their necks in languid grace ;
And they are sisters to tillers of soil, who own
Sturdy bulls, whose necks are grown lusty and strong
Through ploughing the fields round and round all day long.
These sisters will serve you sweet savoury dish
Of crab of curved claws with chunks of snow-white rice
Cooked of grains well polished by dark adamantine
Pounders to the wearing away of their silver-blue ferrules.
The ghoul of white beaming tusks, of a tongue
Red and drooping like flame, of black ears hanging like
Those of a black goat and of curved beastly paws,
After having gorged on corpses, ruffles wildly
By her loud echoing laughter, the silence
Sepulchral reigning in the battle field at its eve.
And so looks the tusker awe-inspiring, whose nails
Are dyed with gore through kicking about corpses
With its legs drum-stout ; and the cloud of dust thus raised
By its stampede is lowered by its rain of streaming ichor.
The calm of streets after the festive dust and din
Of noisy, surging, shouldering crowd is like
The silence of battle field after the tusker's stampede.
And Nalliakkodan's city of such festive
Streets loud with noise is not afar but a-near.
You will reach his towering gates of lofty doors
Ever opened, like the cloven Meru-hills
Where god is tempted, to the minstrels, the pandits
And to Brahmins deeply learned in rare vedic-lore.
Those deeply learned in lores many thus him praise :
' He is grateful to those who do him a good turn,
He spurns the company of the small-minded,
He is as affectionate as he is sweet,

And of a face ever beaming bright with smile.'
Warriors renowned for the might of sword praise him thus :
'He is a shelter to those who seek refuge in him,
He does not harbour deep-seated hatred against foes,
He will fight shoulder to shoulder with his forces,
He will inspire courage in the hearts of the flagging.'
Damsels abright with pink-rayed eyes, large with paint, praise thus :
'He will fulfil the deep longings of their hearts,
He will, when they with passion surge, satisfy their amour,
He will be no one seductive courtesan's tool,
He will, when in sorrow, hasten to relieve them.'
Minstrels who with his bounty run their houses praise thus:
'He will before men of little learning appear as simple,
He will with the learned discourse with equal wisdom,
He will reward to endless measure and each to his desert.'
Him will you approach, who shines bright in the council
Happy of the learned, the seers and ministers
Like the milk-white moon amidst its brilliant star-host.
Yours is a harp to whose upright post, wrought in grace,
Is firmly fixed the tapering black-wood cross-beam
Fashioned like the snake-twined forearm of a green-eyed monkey
Black, grasping the snake ; and the two halves of its sound box
Blue-black as Kallam[1] fruit of the woodlands, are knit
Close with a line of bead-headed pins ; and the box,
Rich with far-famed carver's cunning craft is covered
With deer-robe, which at the stitch of its halves looks
Like downy hair-line running down a woman's belly.
You will stir its nectar-sweet chords, golden like
Dripping honey, and waken, as fixed in music-lore,
The twisted chords one by one to the melody
Of bewitching music templed in your cunning harp.
To the music so raised you will sing praises thus

[1]Carnissa— களாம் பழம்

Of Nalliakkodan. 'Oh King, thou art he whose hand
Is ever shaped like a hanging bud through your gifts
Endless to aged seers ; thou art he whose broad shoulders
Are a shelter to flagging warriors and damsels
Languishing ; and thou art he whose sceptre is a shade
Sheltering to tillers of soil ; and art the mighty
Of shoulders, whose lance flames in fury at the sight
Of your enemy-kings of stately war-chariots.'
And ere you your song of praise finish, he will
You apparel with garments as white and thin as
The epidermal lining of the hollow of bamboo.
To such a measure large he will serve you sweet mead
That you inebriate will lilt your head as a snake
Sways its hood in anger left to right ; he will feast you
On viands prepared, not a jot swerving from culinary rules
Laid down by Bhimsena of Himalayan broad shoulders ;
And who is elder to Arjun of brocaded scarf ;
And whose quiver is full of arrows, which to flames
Consuming made a prey the forests of Kanda[1]
He will viands delicious serve in a circle of cups
Golden, which vie in colour with fate-stars-girdled sun
Of dawn rising in eastern sky, flaming abright
Like the flash of steel ; he standing beside you
Will feast you with unebbing hospitality.
With victory-winning might he puts to rout even
Foes famed for strength of victory-winning lance-host ;
He destroys their strongholds, and with booty thus gained
He relieves the wants of minstrels, and all of those
Who seek his bounty ; and to you he will give gifts
Of gold, yellow as morning sky, gained as booty
Of vanquished kings by his heroic chieftains ; further
He will give you a chariot whose spoked wheels, bound by
Steel tyres and firmly fixed to the steel-strong axle-tree
Chiselled with carver's cunning craft, look like full moon
Of silvery ray, rolling in after-winter sky

[1] Bhimsena one of five Pandava princes of Mahabaratha, a Hindu epic, burnt to flames the forest of Kanda.

Of dark, cold clouds ; the inner side of its towering canopy
Is painted with vermilion, red as surging bunches
Of sky-reaching palasa[1] tree, whose blooming buds
Are circled by a swarm of bees of jubilant songs ;
And the canopy outside gleams like molten gold.
And with it he will give you a charioteer, a bull
Grey-white, fair of head and fleeter of foot than horses speeding,
Yoked to the chariot of well-tested speed and wrought
In all grace and beauty by an adept craftsman.
These gifts you will get, if you go seeking the bounty
Of Nalliakkodan decked with tender-leaved laurels.
And in whom fleeting fame is firm based ; and he is
The lord of those hills whose thunder-ploughed sides are too steep
To be scaled, and whose towering purple peaks bristling
With swaying bamboos are girdled by misty drizzling clouds,
Amidst which peacocks spread their blue bejewelled fans,
Which look like akil-fume mantled blue tresses of damsels
Of supple shoulders, and of willowy waists from which Sarees
Diaphanous and white fall in bewitching languid folds."

[1]Palasa tree— கல்யாண முருங்கை

Reviews

BHARATHIAR : HIS LIFE AND POETRY

By

P. M. SUNDARAM, M.A.

(Published by Orient Longmans, Ltd., Madras.
Pages 133.—Rs. 2/-)

This is a welcome addition to the meagre literature we possess on perhaps the greatest of modern Tamil poets and founder of a new era in Tamil literature. In the Foreword, the author's aim is stated as an examination of Bharathi's poetry, and accordingly the poet's life is summarised in some thirty-six pages, and the rest of the book is devoted to a consideration of his poetry.

A poet is known by his works and Prof. Sundaram shows a full and analytical knowledge of Bharathi's works. He treats in successive chapters of the poet's conception of God, Religion, Society, Womanhood, Nationalism, Philosophy and the like—in what appears perhaps more as separate articles than chapters of the same book. Towards the end he discusses Bharathi's poetic ability and his place in Tamil literature. One emerges from a reading of the book with the impression that the author does not stress sufficiently on the revolutionizing and revitalizing nature of Bharathi's work.

STUDIES IN PATHUPPATTU

By

Thiru V. KANDASWAMI MUDALIAR, B.A., L.T.

(Publishers : Ottrumai Office, Theagarayanagar, Madras.
Price Re. 1/-)

The author is a well known writer of English prose. This brochure comes as a fitting introduction to the Tamil

classics. People have developed a ghost fright, as this author puts it, of these classics and this introduction giving his sketches of and gleanings from the Ten Idylls of the Sangam age will exorcise this evil spirit. The author lives through these sketches, here and there exclaiming with his sly humour " Visvamitras beware ". The fivefold divisions of the Ancient Tamil land, her cities and rivers, nay, her furniture too find their reincarnation in his rhythmic prose. He himself weaves patterns of his own modelled on the classics—in his description of Kattabomman. We meet the poet and the painter everywhere in this book.

இறந்தவர்கள் வாழும் நிலையும் பேசும் முறையும்

By

MARAI THIRU

SOMASUNDARA PARAMACARYA SWAMIGAL,

Junior head of the Tirugnanasambanthar Mutt, Madurai.

(Publication of the Tiru Arul Tava-neri Manram.)

This book is a well documented summary of the experience of the author in communicating and receiving communications from the deceased through mediums. It also gives an explanation from the Hindu point of view of the state of the man after his death. The astral body is nothing but our own body seen in our dreams. He tries to understand the miracles of our saints from this point of view.

The author, as the spiritual head of an ancient Hindu mutt, feels that these experiences will restore man's confidence in matters spiritual.

Whether one accepts the explanation or not, these experiences received not through professional mediums but through innocent and unsophisticated people throw out

a challenge for understanding the Man the unknown. Modern science is still groping in the dark. Nor did our philosophies lay any great emphasis on this ; for they thought this would lead one away from the spiritual path. The puranic lore however never ceased giving detailed version of the life beyond the grave. These experiences have therefore a scientific and perennial interest to the modern man who has yet to find a place for this in his scheme of things.

News and Notes

THE LONDON TAMIL SANGAM.

We have received the following report from the Secretary of the above sangam :—

London has had since the war more than five hundred Tamil-speaking persons from various parts of the world, including Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, Fiji, India, Mauritius, South Africa, British Guiana and Trindid. Attempts were made off and on to form a Tamil Sangam on a cultural basis and the present London Tamil Sangam is, true to the Tamil tradition, the third of its kind.

This third Tamil sangam, though known as London Tamil Sangam, looks after the Tamil cultural interests of Great Britain and Ireland. It was inaugurated on 24th March 1955, under the Presidentship of Prof. A. Chidambaranatham Chettiar of the Annamalai University, when he visited England during his tour of British Universities. About ninety Tamil-speakers representing various countries met to approve the Constitution of the Sangam and elected a working committee. Among its aims are :

> "To propagate and foster interest in Tamil culture and to encourage the study of the Tamil language and literature" ;
>
> "To promote the Tamil conception of universal brotherhood" ; and
>
> "To serve as a meeting-place for Tamils from various countries living in Great Britain and to foster social contacts among them".

At present the Sangam has nearly one hundred members, including a few non-Tamil Indians and Ceylonese and Englishmen.

The Tamil New Year Day, 1955, was celebrated by the Sangam with plays and dance items of cultural interest, preceded by a Tamil style dinner. The Ceylonese members were responsible for items of folklore interest.

On 27th July, 1955, Dr. RM. Alagappa Chettiar was entertained to tea by members of the Sangam. On 19th November, 1955, the Sangam arranged a variety entertainment and dinner at which Rev. Dr. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, Chief Editor of *Tamil Culture,* was the chief guest.

The Sangam is greatly indebted to the following gentlemen who were responsible for the formation of the Sangam :

Mr. S. M. Lakshmanan Chettiar	(India)
Mr. R. Krishnamurthy	(India)
Mr. Adi Nagappan	(Malaya)
Capt. C. S. K. Pathy	(England)
Mr. R. Radhakrishnan	(India)
Mr. J. M. Rajaratnam	(Ceylon)
Mr. A. Sathasivam	(Ceylon)
Mr. K. S. Senathiraja	(Ceylon)
Mr. R. Viswanathan	(India)

The following gentlemen were elected as Patrons and Office-bearers for the year 1955-56.

Patrons :

Prof. T. Burrow (Oxford)
Prof. A. C. Chettiar (Annamalai University, India)
Dr. Kumaru (England)
Mr. G. D. Naidu (India)
Capt. C. S. K. Pathy (England)

President :

Mr. Adi Nagappan (Malaya)

Vice-President :

Mr. J. M. Rajaratnam (Ceylon)

Secretary :

Mr. R. Radhakrishnan (India)

Asst. Secretary :

Mr. R. Viswanathan (India)

Treasurer :

Mr. N. S. Sharma (India)

Working Committee members :

Mr. S. M. Lakshmanan Chettiar
Mr. S. Ambalavanar
Mr. V. A. Ramachandran
Mr. T. Subbiah
Mr. Ross Raja
Mrs. Parvathi Krishnamurthy
Miss. J. C. Fernondo
Mrs. Wilson Jeyaratnam
Miss T. R. Arumugam
Mr. K. Ramanathan.

UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA—DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN STUDIES

The University of Malaya will have from October next year a department of Indian studies.

The Vice-Chancellor of the University Sir Sydney Caine, has said that the department was intended to cover a wide range of Indian studies. But in the first instance, emphasis would be on Tamil language and literature.

Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders, on whose report the University was established in 1948, had recommended that a department of Tamil studies should be set up by the University. But Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, an eminent historian of South India, who was invited to give his views on the subject, advised that an Indian department would be incomplete and valueless if there were no provision for studies in Sanskrit.

Recently, the Commissioner for India in Malaya, Mr. R. K. Tandon, presented a set of 70 Sanskrit books and Rs. 6,000 in cash as a token payment on behalf of the Government of India to the University of Malaya for the Indian Department proposed to be set up by the University.

—Singapore, September 13, 1955.
—(*Indian Express*—*Sep.* 15, 1955.)

SOUTHERN LANGUAGES BOOK TRUST

The Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, an eminent writer in his own right, yesterday (October 5, 1955) disclosed that the Union Government was thinking of having a semi-autonomous publishing house to bring out Indian and foriegn classics and art books at cheap prices.

Inaugurating the Southern Languages Book Trust at the Senate House, he exhorted the people to develop the habit of reading and thinking.

The Publishing House, which the Union Government was thinking about, would cover all languages of India and English, and produce various types of books, classics, translations from the classics of other countries, books on art etc., and produce in large quantities to bring them within the reach of many.

The Prime Minister was received by Mr. S. Govindarajulu, Vice-Chancellor, Venkateswara University and Chairman of the Book Trust, and conducted to the dais. The other Vice-Chancellor-members of the Trust, Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Dr. S. Bhagavantham, Dr. V. L. D'Souza, Dr. V. S. Krishna and Mr. T. M. Narayanaswami Pillai, were presented to Mr. Nehru.

Aim of the Trust

Welcoming the gathering, Mr. S. Govindarajulu explained the objects of the Trust—to sponsor the publication and distribution of high quality low-priced books in

large numbers in four South Indian languages—Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada.

The Trust will issue 80 titles a year—20 in each of the four languages. Each series of 20 books will present a balanced list, so that there will be in each new group of books released, some current and classical titles which would appeal to almost any worthwhile taste. The Trust's objective is to encourage editions of 5,000 to 10,000 and even 20,000 of the selected books to be sold at cheap cost. The Trust will provide working capital to publishers as loans.

He referred to the learning of English language and the controversy whether they should continue to teach in English and thus keep the doors open to something new in scientific and political thought.

He said many of them had learnt English "and this has helped to add significantly to our ancient heritage; what is more, it has helped us to understand better and cherish all that is valuable in our heritage; it has also given us the confidence to demand that what is not good in that heritage should be abandoned."

The Ford Foundation had approved a grant to the Trust for a three-year scheme, and the Trust expected to produce by its publications no spectacular changes, but deemed it as a long-range measure.

—(*Mail*, October 6, 1955.)

OBITUARY

Rev. Father H. Heras

The death of Rev. Father H. Heras, S. J., on the 14th December 1955 is a great blow to Indology in general and the study of the Indus Valley civilisation in particular. His contribution to historical research in India was thus described by Dr. Hasmukh D. Sankalia in his introduction to the Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume (November

1953) of the Indian Historical Research Institute, founded by Father Heras in 1926 :

> 'There was no Institute where Students could be trained to carry out research in pure history......The foundation of the Indian Historical Research Institute as a post-graduate Department of St. Xavier's College, supplied this long felt need....There was no institute in Bombay and perhaps in all India at that time, where the needs of the students were so carefully thought of and provided for....Besides the facilities which the Institute provided, Father Heras was always there to guide the people......
>
> 'History was conceived of in its widest sense. Its study was, therefore, not confined to political or dynastic history, as was then the prevailing custom. But besides these which should always be there to serve as a necessary frame work, for understanding the collection of ideas, institutions and persons, both the Guru and his Sishyas undertook investigation of minute and hitherto neglected aspects—the social, religious, economic, educational, archaeological—of the several periods of Indian history, called Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern.
>
> 'Since 1918, Father Heras has written 13 books and nearly 200 articles, while his work, on the Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture is about to be published. Every one of these works—whether on the Manchu Dynasty of China, or on the Guptas, Pallavas or the Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara, or on the religion of Asoka and Akbar, or those on the spread of Buddhism in Afghanistan are marked by brilliant scholarship and extreme thoroughness. Every source of information available to the writer is systematically studied and cited. One may disagree with the author regarding certain conclusions, but his methodology cannot be challenged.
>
> This is no less true of Father Heras' forthcoming work 'Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture'. Not only is it his *magnum opus* but it is his life work. For he has been working at it since 1934. And it may be said that there is no other Scholar—Indian or foreign—who has devoted so much time and labour to the elucidation of the Indus Script and its import. Behind this study lies not only the study of the several ancient Oriental and Occidental Scripts—Hieroglyphic, Cuneiform, Hittite and Phoenician, but their cultural

history and archaeology. Probably no other scholar except Father Heras could have attempted such a study. Brought up and educated in Spain, he knows several European languages so that he can read into original all the relevant literature on this subject, whereas India has become his second home. In him have thus co-mingled the modern European Scholarship and the Oriental Tradition. With these two he has approached the problem of the decipherment and interpretation of the Indus (Harappa) Script. The discovery of a bilingual inscription or some such evidence can alone prove or disprove his interpretation, but one can nevertheless appreciate the most methodical and logical approach to this problem and the conclusions which follow from it......

'Father Heras's interest in the decipherment and interpretation of the Indus Valley seals has made its library probably the best equipped library in the whole Orient as far as these Proto-Indian (Iranian, Iraquian and Mediterranean) subjects are concerned. Probably here is the only museum in the world where one finds large sized enlargements (photographs of 10″ × 8″) of the Indus seals, and the actual use of the Script.'

The first volume of 'Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture' to which Dr. Sankalia refers was published early in 1954 and in it Father Heras arrived at this characteristically forthright conclusion :

'We are therefore forced to acknowledge that the Dravidians, of India, after a long period of development in this country, travelled westwards, and settling successively in the various lands, they found their way from Mesopotamia up to the British Isles, spread their race—afterwards named Mediterranean owing to the place they were known anthropologically—through the west and made their civilization flourish in two continents, being thus the originators of the modern world civilization.'

'We are still breathing the atmosphere that nurtured these ancient heroes. The Mi:nas and Paravas and Ve:la:l:as and Kut:agas are still living round us. The Scripts that are being used by the different languages of India are acknowledged as the natural final development of the cryptic signs of the Indus Valley inscriptions. Echoes of the ancient language spoken by the

> Indus Valley dwellers resound in our ears continually. The belief in the existence of one God still leads the destinies of the Indian nation.'

The death of Father Heras is in a literal sense an irreparable loss to Dravidology. The remaining volumes of his 'Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture' are still to be published; it is understood that the Second Volume was nearly ready for publication at the time of his death. As the result of his painstaking and exhaustive researches should not be lost to India and to the world, it is earnestly hoped that the authorities of the St. Xavier's College, Bombay, will take early steps for the publication of the remaining volumes.

Father Heras will be particularly missed by the readers of *Tamil Culture,* to which he was a frequent contributor. On his way to Kodaikanal a few months ago on medical advice, he met while at Madras Mr. A. Subbiah, Vice-President of the Academy and made valuable suggestions in regard to the work of the Academy and this journal, to which he promised to send a contribution from Kodaikanal, if his health improved. Alas, Death has since snatched him away. May his Soul rest in peace!

Transliteration of Tamil Phonemes* into English

VOWELS

அ	—	a	(as in among)
ஆ	—	a:	(„ calm)
இ	—	i	(„ sit)
ஈ	—	i:	(„ machine)
உ	—	u	(„ full)
ஊ	—	u:	(„ rule)
எ	—	e	(„ fed)
ஏ	—	e:	(„ able)
ஐ	—	ai	(„ aisle)
ஒ	—	o	(„ opinion)
ஓ	—	o:	(„ opium)
ஔ	—	au	(„ now)

CONSONANTS				HINTS RE-ARTICULATION
Hard[1] (Plosive)	க	—	k	(as in king, angle, alhambra)
	ச	—	c	(„ church, angel, calcium)
	ட	—	t:	(„ card ?)....Retroflex - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	த	—	th	(„ threat, this, thick)....dental.
	ப	—	p	(„ pipe, amber)
	ற	—	t	(„ atlas, sunday, arrears)..Retroflex articulate with tip of tongue.
Soft (Nasal)	ங	—	ng	(„ sing)....velar n
	ஞ	—	nj	(„ angel)....palatal n
	ண	—	n:	(„ urn ?)....Retroflex n - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	ந	—	nh	(„ anthem)....dental n
	ம	—	m	(„ mate)
	ன	—	n	(„ enter)....Retroflex n - articulate with **tip** of tongue.
Medium (non-nasal continuant)	ய	—	y	(„ yard)
	ர	—	r	(„ red)
	ல	—	l	(„ leave)....Alveolar l - articulate with **tip** of tongue.
	வ	—	v	(„ very)
	ழ	—	l-	(„ ?)....Retroflex l - articulate with **blade** of tongue
	ள	—	l:	(„ hurl)....Alveolar l - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
Auxiliary[2] (ஆய்தம்)	ஃ	—	x	(„ ahead)

* The Tamil phonemes may for practical purposes be treated as having single allophones only, except in the case of the hard consonants which have four allophones each, as shown in note 1 on the reverse.

1. The Phonemes, classified as *hard*, have normally an *unaspirated, unvoiced* value but acquire the following modified values if preceded by a consonant :—

   (a) a *slightly aspirated* unvoiced value, if preceded by a *plosive or hard consonant.*

   e.g., பக்கம் – is pronounced pakkham, not pakkam

   (b) an unaspirated but *voiced* value, if preceded by a *nasal or soft consonant* :—

   e.g., பங்கம் – is pronounced pangam, not pankam
   பஞ்சம் – „ panjam, not pancam

   (c) a *fricative* value if preceded by a *non-nasal continuant or medium consonant or by the auxiliary consonant.*

   e.g., பல்கலை becomes palhalai not palkalai
   எ∴கு „ ehhu not exku

NOTE.—In most present day dialects, the plosive assumes a fricative —sometimes a voiced—value after a vowel also, except in the case of t : which retains its normal unaspirated, unvoiced value even after a vowel

2. The value of this *auxiliary* phoneme, which must *always* be followed by a hard consonant, was variable during the time of Tholkappiam; it acquired a phonetic value identical with that of the following hard consonant, vide 1 (c) above,

   e.g., எ∴கு became ehhu

   Later its value became fixed as h, irrespective of the following consonant.

Note. (i) With a view to keep down transliteration to the minimum it is suggested that, in the case of Tamil words which are already in free use in English (e g., Tamil = Thamil), or where it is unnecessary to indicate the exact pronunciation, accurate transliteration need not be resorted to. In the case of proper names etc., which occur more than once in the same article, the transliteration need be shown only once in brackets side by side with a free English adaptation, the latter alone being used subsequently, except of course in cases where such a procedure will lead to ambiguity,

e.g., வேங்கடம் = Vengadam (Ve:ngkat am).

(ii) Reference may be made to *Tamil Culture,* Vol IV, No. 1 (January 1955 issue) pp. 58-73 for fuller details.

THE TAMIL SCRIPT

(This table is given for the guidance of those who wish to read Tamil texts which often appear in TAMIL CULTURE)

Vowels	Vowel symbols attached to preceding consonant.	Hard consonants						Soft consonants						Medium consonants					
		k	c	t:	th	p	t	ng	nj	n:	nh	m	n	y	r	l	v	l-	l:
அ a	nil	க	ச	ட	த	ப	ற	ங	ஞ	ண	ந	ம	ன	ய	ர	ல	வ	ழ	ள
ஆ a:	ா to the right of the consonant	கா					றா			ணா			னா						
இ i	ி to be *joined* at the top—right of consonant	கி																	
ஈ i:	ீ to be *joined* at the top—right of consonant	கீ																	
உ u	a semi-circle ു, a vertical stroke | or a loop ு to be *joined* to the bottom	கு	சு	டு	து	பு	று	ஙு	ஞு	ணு	நு	மு	னு	யு	ரு	லு	வு	ழு	ளு
ஊ u:	Same as for u, but with an additional stroke or loop	கூ	சூ	டூ	தூ	பூ	றூ	ஙூ	ஞூ	ணூ	நூ	மூ	னூ	யூ	ரூ	லூ	வூ	ழூ	ளூ
எ e	ெ to the left of the consonant	கெ																	
ஏ e:	ே to the left of the consonant	கே																	
ஐ ai	ை to the left of the consonant	கை								ணை			னை			லை			ளை
ஒ o	ெ to the left & ா to the right of the consonant	கொ					றொ			ணொ			னொ						
ஓ o:	ே to the left & ா to the right	கோ					றோ			ணோ			னோ						
ஔ au	ெ to the left & ள to the right	கௌ																	
மெய் pure consonants	A dot · on the top of the consonant	க்																	

Note.—(1) The vowels are written as shown in the first vertical column.

(2) The consonants are written as shown in the horizontal columns, with a symbol or symbols indicating the vowel immediately following. A consonant followed by the vowel அ (a) has no symbol, while the pure consonant not followed by a vowel has a dot on top.

(3) All the eighteen vowel consonants under க (k) are shown as a guide; in other cases only the irregular forms are shown, the rest being exactly similar to those shown under க (k), excepting for trivial differences in a few cases which might safely be ignored.

MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNING COUNCIL FOR 1955-56.

Mr. S. Arumuga Mudaliar, Vivekananda Training College, Tiruparoyturai.

Rev. P. Ceyrac, S.J., Loyola College

Dr. A. Chidambaranatha Chettiar, Annamalai University

The Chettiars' Educational Association, Tiruchirapalli.

Isaiarasu M. M. Dandapani Desigar.

Dr. V. A. Devasenapathi, University of Madras.

Mr. K. Ganesh.

„ M. M. Ghani, Government Arts College

„ K. Kothandapani Pillai

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